

CHRONIC CANNABIS USE AMONG WORKING-CLASS MEN IN SAN JOSE, COSTA RICA

By

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TO MY WIFE, JOAN

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PREFACE

The research reported here was performed in San José, Costa Rica, between July, 1973, and August, 1975, as part of research contract No. N01-MH3-0233[ND], sponsored by the National Institutes of Drug Abuse (N.I.D.A.), to investigate the effects of chronic cannabis use. The contract called for broad transdisciplinary participation including detailed medical studies, psychological test batteries, and long-term anthropological studies of a subject population of 240 male cannabis users and non-users and a matched subsample of 41 working-class users and 41 working-class non-users. The purpose of the study was "to obtain in-depth material on the sociocultural context of long-term marihuana use, the effects of such use on interpersonal relations, job performance, motivation, aspirations, and career development, and possible effects of such use on the human organism, using for this latter purpose a complex battery of medical and neuropsychological tests" (Carter et al., 1973, p. 1).

The task was the identification and analysis of the sociocultural context of 41 male, working-class consumers of marihuana and 41 male, working-class non-consumers, ranging in age from 18 to 50, residing in the metropolitan area of San José, Costa Rica. The need for this total perspective was pointed out by Rubin and Comitas (n.d.): "[F]ew studies have examined the total environment of the marihuana smoker, i.e., the study of the subject in his society" (p. 3).

During the first year of our study, emphasis was placed on obtaining an original sample of 240 subjects from which the final matched sample of 41 users and 41 non-users were to be selected. Eighty-four of the original 240 were users and 156 were non-users. The reason for having more than twice as many non-users as users was to give the researchers considerable latitude in matching the control group with the user group. As elaborated in the following chapters, the network approach was the key vehicle for obtaining this sample.

The process of matching the final sample began after 11 months of fieldwork and lasted about two months. The 41 users were matched with their controls on a one-to-one basis using the following criteria:

1. Age: A bracket of 4 years difference was defined as the acceptable tolerance between users and non-users. The majority of the matches were within 2 years.
2. Marital status: Stable free union and stable marriage were equated. Serial involvement with women was distinguished from those with little experience. Marital status changed with some of the subjects as they were being matched for the criteria. Finally, flexibility had to be allowed for matching this criteria.
3. Education: Formal education was defined as none, primary incomplete, primary complete, secondary incomplete, and secondary complete. The matching took into account institutional socialization such as time in the reformatory or seminary. Subjects were matched within one "step" of their match. Thus a consumer with primary incomplete of 4 years could, for example, be matched with a control with all 6 years of primary completed.
4. Occupation: It was not necessary to demand the identical job in the match. All artisan crafts, such as construction, shoemaking, tailoring, and the like were matched interchangeably. This seemed reasonable because in the life histories, subjects described how they knew several of these trades and orbited among them depending on the market for services. Thus the matching was done within the broad occupational categories of the national census.
5. Alcohol consumption: A question sequence modified from an instrument of the Costa Rican Institute for Studies on

Alcoholism was used, which scaled alcohol consumption on a scale of 0 to 17 points. Matches were accepted within 4 points of each other; moreover, those whose consumption was at the top of the scale were eliminated.

6. Tobacco consumption: The number of pack years the subject smoked was determined and the control was matched within 4 pack years. (Time smoked X average consumption equaled pack years. Ten years of use X two packs a day equaled 20 pack years.)

The analytical use of social networks as method and theory enabled us to cope with the complex, discontinuous urban environment of San José. Through repeated contact with key individuals whose personal networks were extensive, we were able to gain access to informal relational groupings from which we selected our sample. Moreover, our incorporation into these social networks enabled us to obtain in-depth data on the dynamics of working-class life in San José.

Life histories of the finally selected sample provided the principal source of sociocultural data. Through the life-history interviews, we were able to get data on the principal relational groupings. The usefulness of this approach was underscored by Pelto (1970): "The richness and personalized nature of life histories afford a vividness and integration of cultural information that are of great value for understanding particular life ways" (pp. 99). As he pointed out, life histories provide data useful for "examining the patterning of general values, foci of cultural interests, and perceptions of social and natural relationships . . ." (p. 99).

These interviews and those conducted with members of the subjects' families and with their friends provided the bulk of our data. Participant observation was another fieldwork technique; however, due to the number of informants and the diffuseness of the city, this

technique was used less extensively than interviewing for data gathering.

We began our research with general questionnaire instruments, and, using insights generated by these instruments, we developed an interview guide to be employed for the collection of life histories from the final sample of 82 subjects. Approaching each subject after rapport had been developed, we conducted the interviews in an open-ended fashion, using the Rogerian reflective technique to elicit data. This technique encourages the respondent to elaborate on his ideas as much as he desires.

We generally conducted the interviews in several sittings. For the most part, it took us four to eight hours to cover the numerous topics on the interview guide. Although the same interview guide was used for all subjects, the information was not confined to the limits of a page space or closed questions. An accurate recording of the richness and depth of the interviews was made possible through the use of a tape recorder.

One limitation of the study was that it had to rely on retrospective recall of childhood events, early social relationships, and experiences. To minimize this and other threats to internal validity, we took the following steps: (1) the subjects were guaranteed anonymity and confidentiality to put aside their personal concerns and anxiety; (2) we became well acquainted with the subjects and developed rapport with them so that they would engage in open and honest communication; (3) we sought external collaboration by speaking with others familiar with the subjects and their background; and (4) we checked the internal consistency of the information provided by a subject by

seeking the same information in several ways so that some estimate of internal consistency could be judged.

Because of the close rapport which we had established with subjects, we were able to collect rich and copious life histories. In order to analyze these data, we developed procedures for information retrieval. All materials were typed verbatim on 5 X 8 inch Burroughs Y-9 unisort cards which were coded according to a modified version of the Human Relations Area File Outline of Cultural Materials (Murdock et al., 1967). This code permitted the division of the data into approximately 700 topical categories which could be punched on the unisort cards. By use of these categories, 14,000 typed cards were coded, thereby making the data retrievable according to whatever combination or sequence of topics was desired.

Once the coding procedure was completed, special scoring sheets were prepared for each of the interviews. On the basis of the interview guide, 286 variables were selected covering an array of 1,500 possible responses for each of the life histories. During the scoring process, we recounted and reinterviewed subjects in cases where data appeared confusing or were missing. Once this was completed, the data were analyzed by computer to indicate general profiles. Using these computer analyses and the original data recorded on the unisort cards, we analyzed the material for a final description of the sociocultural context of the subjects. The general findings of this study are reported elsewhere (Carter, et al., 1976).

As a large biomedical-social science research project on chronic cannabis use, the research operations required the continual collaboration of approximately 50 team members over the two and one-half years

of active project life. My functions in this endeavor were twofold: as anthropological researcher, I helped gather field data upon which the social analysis was drawn, and, as Costa Rican field coordinator, I participated as administrator to insure that all field operations were properly and completely carried out. In performing these responsibilities, I was supervised by the project directors, Drs. William Carter, Paul Doughty, and Wilmer Coggins. Drs. Carter and Doughty served not only as general supervisors but also as anthropological field researchers.

Other members of the anthropology team were Bryan Page, Dina Drauskopf, and Claudine Frankel. Mr. Page, a fellow graduate student at the University of Florida, is also using the data collected for his doctoral thesis.

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Chairman: Paul L. Doughty
Major Department: Anthropology

Cannabis use among working-class men in San José, Costa Rica, was examined with focus on behavior characteristic of that stratum of Costa Rican society and the functional, integral role of drug use for some members of that class. The sociocultural context of drug use is described, with special attention given to adult informal relational groupings and their associated values. The analysis of the adult social world is coupled with an examination of early life-history experiences to illustrate two distinct patterns of socialization among the subjects, one pattern generally associated with future users and the other with non-users. These findings suggest that drug use or non-use is correlated with fundamental social processes antedating the onset of cannabis use.

The research reported was conducted in San José between July, 1973 and August, 1975, as part of a research contract sponsored by the National Institute of Drug Abuse to investigate the effects of chronic cannabis use. Life histories of the selected sample of 41 users and 41 non-users provided the principal source of sociocultural data.

The 41 users were matched with 41 controls on a one-to-one basis by use of the criteria of age, marital status, education, occupation, alcohol consumption, and tobacco consumption.

The dynamics of the subjects' families, work, and informal relational groupings are emphasized to show the functional, integral role of cannabis use in the lives of some working-class men. This analysis illuminates the economic and social constraints on working-class life, thus underscoring the stratified nature of Costa Rican society.

CHAPTER I

DRUG USE AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE

As students of the use of hallucinogens in primitive societies have long understood, drug use takes its form and assumes its meanings from the particular sociocultural context in which it occurs (Furst, 1972; Harner, 1973; Rubin and Comitas, 1975). Drug use, therefore, must be studied as a part of culture. Its physiological and psychological effects must be examined with reference to the context which provides the circumstances and the interpretations circumscribing the drug-using experience. As Goode (1969) points out, drug use "cannot be understood apart from the web of social relations in which it is implicated" (p. 55).

The study of drug use reported here is, in effect, a study of society, with special reference to the drug theme about which other social phenomena were ordered when observed. The study presented here examines cannabis use among working-class men in San José, Costa Rica, focusing on behavior characteristic of that stratum of Costa Rican society and the integral role of drug use for some members of that class.

The study has two major concerns: first, to show that the use of cannabis is an integral, functional part of the lives of some members of San José's working class, and, second, to demonstrate that this analysis of drug use provides insight into Costa Rican society,

affording the opportunity to view the society's social structure from the perspective of those occupying a low social position in that structure. Traditional, long-term use of cannabis was found to be clearly a part of working-class life, and an examination of this behavior revealed much about the working class in Costa Rica and its relationship to the society of which it was a part. As elaborated in the following chapters, this portrayal of working-class life underscores the subordinate position of this class in Costa Rican society and the highly stratified nature of that society.

Focusing on the functional, integral role of cannabis in the lives of these working-class men yielded an understanding of their values, customary behavior, and interaction patterns. In the description and analysis presented in the following chapters, special attention is given to what Warner (1960) terms institutional membership, or relations of real interconnectedness, emphasizing the family and informal relational groupings. As illustrated by the research of Warner (1941, 1960) and Warner and Srole (1945), this approach provides an operational definition of class, emphasizing the behavioral, relational dimension of social structure.

The variant of Warner's approach used here incorporates aspects of relational analysis advanced by Kimball and Pearsall (1954). The discussion presented employs their scheme of analysis emphasizing the functional interrelatedness of customary behavior, structure of interaction, and values among working-class men in San José and relating the phenomenon of drug use to these conceptual components. The description of these components (relational, customary, value) provides the framework within which cannabis use may be viewed and understood.

This study specifically examines the behavior of 41 cannabis users and 41 non-users from San Jose's working class in order to define the sociocultural context of drug use, with special attention given to adult informal relational groupings and their associated values and customary behavior (Chapter IV). The analysis of the adult social world is coupled with an examination of early life-history experiences to illustrate two distinct patterns of socialization among the subjects, one pattern generally associated with the future users and the other with the non-users (Chapter III). These findings suggest that drug use or non-use is correlated with fundamental social processes antedating the onset of cannabis use.

This analysis of working-class socialization views the process as the replication of societal forms in terms of choices made within a field of interpersonal relationships (Kimball and McClellan, 1966; Moore, 1973; Partridge, 1974). Constraints and incentives stemming from this field of interpersonal relationships canalize choice for each generation of working-class youth. The process by which this canalization of choice occurred for the working-class subjects in this study becomes evident when early socialization experiences are examined, suggesting that the decision to use cannabis is related to the nature of interpersonal relationships of early socialization experiences.

This relational analysis of socialization and of the adult social world focuses on interactional regularities and cultural behavior characteristic of San José's working class as related to the specific urban environmental context. These three variables, social form, patterned behavior, and environment, provide the basic elements of the

analysis of drug use and its role in San José's working class. The functional interdependence of these three variables are examined in later chapters in order to show (1) that the way of life of members of the working class must be described within the context of the physical features of the urban environment where they work, reside, and recreate; (2) that the working class may be defined in terms of its characteristic patterns of interaction and customary behavior; and (3) that the subjects as children were socialized into their status and role through interpersonal relationships and experiences which defined their membership in the working class and which are being replicated for their own children. Cannabis use may be understood only when these broader patterns of working-class social processes are described.

In order to provide a context for this relational analysis of cannabis use, the theme of drugs in society is discussed in the next section. This is followed by a general description of Costa Rican society with special attention given to the prevailing social and political ideology regarding social stratification.

Drugs in Society

The consumption of mind-altering drugs has long been part of man's repertoire of behaviors. Indeed, a proclivity for ingesting items from a wide range of available materia is typical human behavior when one considers that the four most popular drugs in human experience (i.e., alcohol, tobacco, coffee, and marihuana) represent only the most popular modes of drug ingestion (Brecher, 1972).

As Furst (1973) comments about the new awareness of hallucinogenic substances in the West, "what is new is not discovery of natural substances that act powerfully on the mind, but their fascination for Western man and the medical, legal, and social consequences" (p. xi). For social scientists concerned with the phenomenon of drug use, this fascination takes the form of increased available resources for conducting research.

The role of drug research suggests a perspective and approach for viewing the role of drug use in society. While the use of drugs has long been a part of human behavior, the interest in and resources for research on the effects of drug use have only recently increased. Research projects, such as the one this study is based on, are focusing scientific attention upon the phenomenon of drug use, not because the evolution of social research and social theory now calls for it, but because political pressures and controversy have swayed policy makers to the point that the latter have recruited the scientific community to participate in the controversy.

The reasons for this recent politicization of the issue of drug use reveal something about the role of drugs in social life. The political tensions and disturbances of the late 1960s and early 1970s found young people expressing themselves on public issues in a way that traditional power brokers found disturbing and threatening. Through popular reporting and vivid media coverage the ethos of youth culture was described, with particular attention given to the elaborated use of drug substances not previously thought to be part of mainstream American culture. Further, it soon became apparent that it

was the offspring of middle-and upper-class citizens who were visibly participating in what was seen as excesses of various types. Penetration of the use of marihuana among those who traditionally would be expected to provide future leadership of the nation stimulated interest and alarm, leading to calls to determine just what the consequences of such activity would be. A typical perception of marihuana effects is seen in the United States Department of Defense brochure "Drug Abuse: Game Without Winners"(1968):

Continuing research is being carried out to determine whether chronic marijuana use may have detrimental effects on physical health, including possible brain and genetic damage. Psychic dependence and the drug's effects, however, may lead to extreme lethargy, self-neglect, and preoccupation with use of marijuana to a degree that precludes constructive activity.

One researcher has noted the subtle but ominous changes among such marijuana users characterized by: decreased drive, apathy, distractability, poor judgment, introversion, depersonalization, diminished capacity to carry out complex plans or prepare realistically for the future, magical thinking, a peculiar fragmentation of thought, and progressive loss of insight.
(p. 39)

The shock of finding solid middle-class youth involved in the consumption of materials normally associated with society's marginal persons is understandable when one examines the evolution of suppressive attitudes and sanctions with regard to certain types of drug use for most of the past century. About the turn of the century, legislation was passed which sought to control the use of certain drugs. The Chinese coolies working in the United States and other countries attracted attention to the use of opium, which stimulated the passage of the first opium ordinance in San Francisco (Brecher, 1972, p. 42). Later congressional action in 1883 and 1890 aimed to control the importation of opium, a restriction directed against the immigrant importation of the drug from China.

The Harrison Narcotic Act in 1914 defined the use of certain drugs, including the opiates, as criminal activity in order to control international traffic in those substances. Brecher (1972, p. 49) argued that the motivations for this legislation stemmed from alarm at the growing British trade in opium rather than from health considerations. The result was to redefine what had become for many a common health-seeking behavior--using opiates--as criminal behavior. Thus, the nineteenth-century miracle drug went underground, and official policy became directed at enforcement procedures called for in the legislation.

Cannabis became the target of law-enforcement sanctions in 1937 after a vigorous campaign by Harry J. Anslinger, who was first the Assistant Prohibition Commissioner and later the Director of the Federal Bureau of Narcotics. He succeeded in convincing the public and Congress that cannabis was a threat to public safety by using scare stories portraying marihuana users as crazed maniacs. The recent re-issuance of the famous movie "Reefer Madness" as high camp entertainment serves as a reminder of the kinds of deranged associations given the use of cannabis in the 1930s. This portrayal of cannabis effects ignored even what was known then, for the massive British India Hemp Drugs Commission Report 1893-1894 (reprinted in 1969) and the Panama Canal Zone Military Investigations of 1916-1929 (Siler et al., 1933) had reached consistent findings about the essentially inoffensive character of marihuana use. Both reports urged mild official reaction.

The campaign against marihuana was based upon the assumption that particular behaviors could be attributed to the custom of smoking

marihuana and, contrary to evidence, suppressing drug use would eliminate the offensive custom. Such attitudes ignored the reality that it is the underlying social problems which find their expression in specific behaviors, including marihuana use, and not the specific behavior which is causing the problem.

Blum (1970) provides another example of how these associations can be made with a drug, one which is now thoroughly "domesticated":

[I]n the Moslem Eastern Mediterranean region, seventeenth-century rules strictly forbade the drinking of coffee. The death penalty was provided for owning or even visiting a coffee house. Behind this severity lay a threat unconnected with an evaluation of caffeine, for the coffee house had become a meeting place for leisured political malcontents who were thought to be secretly hatching plots against established political and religious authority. (p. 12)

Such claims of seditious thinking and suspicious behavior are also reflected in the current marihuana controversy. The "problems" referred to in the discussion of marihuana and coffee are embedded in the particular social processes of the critics, not the drug users.

Anthropologists, in studying human behavior, see behaviors as part of normal processes, explicable within the general characteristics of the society in which they appear. Thus, when looking at the history of drug use, it is apparent that drug use has long been part of human societies, particularly in groups traditionally of interest to anthropologists. Furst (1972) has compiled some recent work which shows some of the varieties of this usage. Among medical applications, one finds the San Pedro cactus, or Trichocereus pachanoi, of coastal mestizo farmers in Peru (Sharon, 1971); the morning glory seeds, or Rivea corymbosa, in the Oaxaca Valley of Mexico (Schultes, 1972); and the use of tobacco for such purposes among the Warao of Venezuela

(Wilbert, 1972) and the Tenetehara of Brazil (Wagley and Galvão, 1949). The Soma of the ancient Aryans (Wasson, 1968, 1972) and the peyote cactus, or Lophophora williamsii, among native American groups of the Southwest and across the border into Mexico (LaBarre, 1938; Aberle, 1966) were particularly elaborated in religious practices. Drugs are used for their powers of intercession in religious ritual as found among the Tukano of Colombia with the yaje, or Banisteriopsis caapi (Reichel-Dolmatoff, 1972), and among the Fang with Tabernanthe iboga, or eboka (Fernandez, 1972).

LaBarre (1972) points out that a listing of drugs known to New World natives would include from eighty to a hundred drugs; a listing from the Old World would contain only about a half dozen, including cannabis. The greater elaboration of the use of mind-altering substances among New World peoples, La Barre claims, is not due to different botanical characteristics of the two land masses, but rather to the ubiquitous presence of shamanism in aboriginal hunting peoples in the Americas. Thus, the repertoire of substances is itself a cultural artifact, just as an understanding of the uses and meanings of drug use can be drawn only from the perspective of social circumstances of the particular culture.

Western culture generally follows a different line with regard to states of altered consciousness. While such states are clearly part of the cultural tradition, they are thought of as being induced by mind-altering drugs (Partridge, 1974, pp. 7-9). The most famous mystical experiences of the saints, the visions of St. Theresa, St. Bernard, and St. Francis; the levitations of Aquinas; and the hallucinations

of Joan of Arc are all seen as unaided by the ingestion of any substances.

Projective mechanisms for reaching altered states of consciousness without drugs have figured prominently in Western life. Trance-like states associated with various groups are elaborated vividly by Mooney (1896) in his classic work on the Ghost-Dance religion. Drawing parallels between this religion and the other groups' altered states of consciousness, Mooney describes the maniacal religious dancing in honor of St. John in fourteenth-century Germany, France, and Holland; the prophetic trances, hypnotism, and miracle-working of seventeenth-century Ranters, Quakers, and Fifth-Monarchy Men; the convulsions and trance performances of the "French prophets" of eighteenth-century England; the frenzied spasms characterizing the Kentucky revival of 1800; the convulsive manifestations of the Shakers of New York; and the frenzied religious activities of other groups (pp. 928-952).

Such phenomena, particularly as they have been incorporated in religious traditions, have been studied by anthropologists and treated as projective mechanisms constituting functional, integral aspects of the sociocultural systems where they occur. Circumstances surrounding the onset of the altered states of consciousness are viewed by this discipline as normal behavior for those societies.

Few anthropologists, however, have studied the phenomena of altered states of consciousness from the perspective of what Durkheim (1947) called the profane, or secular, institutions of society (pp. 38-42). The sacred realm consists of ritualized expressions of sacred beliefs among specific social groups. Thus, the belief, the ritual, and the

grouping are the sacred, and all else is profane. The controversy described here about the "problem mentality" associated with marihuana use exists in the secular domain of social life, and the research which is reported here focused on the role of marihuana in the profane, or secular, life.

The public position with regard to the placement of drug use in this secular domain became fixed during the early part of this century, with increasing suppression upon the use of some substances as use became categorized as either licit or illicit (Brecher, 1972). The former category includes many clearly recreational drugs such as coffee, tobacco, and alcohol. It also includes a range of materia medica which have become a part of popular health culture in the United States. In grocery and drug stores, display cases are full of medicines and treatments for relieving ailments ranging from anxiety and stress to insomnia and constipation. This multitude of available drugs demonstrates the profile of normal drug use for society in the United States, which, according to some critical observers, has been capricious in defining the use of other substances as illicit.

Few studies have been directed at placing the use of marihuana within the perspective of a natural setting. As Carter et al. (1976, pp. 9-10) point out in the final report for the Costa Rican project, the Jamaican study (Rubin and Comitas, 1975) has been the only close comparison to the Costa Rican project for its attention to matching the study population and taking as a research focus drug use in vivo. As abstracted in the Costa Rican report (Carter et al., 1976), the research situation with regard to cannabis use has been deficient. Principally,

research on the drug in the United States has been of a clinical or laboratory nature, with the use of various physiological or psychological tests occasionally supplemented by sociological questionnaires. As summarized in the 1974 report by the National Institutes of Drug Abuse, Marihuana and Health, the state of research is far from ideal. Of the studies reported at the time of the Costa Rican report, few had used control groups, and virtually all had gathered data from institutionalized populations (e.g., universities, the armed services, prisons, and hospitals)--not from the public at large in a natural, ongoing setting (Carter et al., 1976, p. 10).

Concern about the role of cannabis in Costa Rica took much of the same form that it did in the United States, as diffusion of American drug-using patterns to secondary and college youth of Costa Rica's middle and upper classes caused widespread concern among legislators and other leaders. While Costa Rica has had a long tradition of cannabis use among its working class, the matter only became an issue when it was discovered that children in the middle and upper classes were using the drug. As shown in the newspaper reports, the issue of cannabis was not of concern as long as the lower-class members of society were the only ones using it.

The reaction to drug use as a function of those who are associated with its use is part of a pattern of drug policy formulation. The use of particular drugs can function as a social marker for certain groups. Thus, ganja smoking is associated with lower-class East Indians and blacks in Jamaica (Rubin and Comitas, 1975); marihuana smoking was associated with black musicians in New York (LaGuardia Commission, 1966);

and Andean Indians are singled out for their use of coca. In Costa Rica, this group-marking occurs with the working class. This is illustrated in the following quotation from La Prensa Libre, a San José newspaper:

Until a few years ago, marihuana was considered a product used only by persons living in low class barrios, people without much culture and generally of very few resources.

Nevertheless, over the years, with the invasion of new "currents," of the hippie type, marihuana jumped the barrier that society had imposed and now it is consumed permanently and, even more seriously, increasingly, among young people of the cream of society . . . whether these be students or even professionals. (Cited in Carter et al., 1976, p. 40.)

Marihuana use was of no particular concern to policy makers and national leaders as long as it was simply a practice of the lower class, but as the use population appeared to shift, interest was immediately stimulated. This climate for research suggests the stratified nature of Costa Rican society, a theme to be elaborated in the next section.

Social Setting

That this interpretation of drug-using behaviors in Costa Rica should have a class bias should, of course, be of no surprise to those familiar with Latin American societies. However, one finds a set of beliefs associated with Costa Rica stressing its egalitarian nature and democratic structure, which would suggest that one would find less polarization there than in other Latin American countries. According to this ideology, this small Central American country represents a flowering of democracy, supported and directed by a large middle class, deriving from egalitarian colonial roots, and bolstered by extensive public education offering to all a vehicle for social and economic mobility.

This popular image of Costa Rica is generally asserted by the country's inhabitants and by outside observers (Busey, 1961; Biesanz and Biesanz, 1944; Lundberg, 1968) and is advanced by Costa Rican scholars (Barahona Jiménez, 1970; Rodríguez Vega, 1953; Gutiérrez, 1963). This view, however, has been disputed by recent research, especially by the intensive genealogical studies of Stone (1969, 1971, 1975) demonstrating the presence of an aristocratic endogamous elite who have dominated Costa Rican social and political life since the colonial period.

Stone's (1975) findings challenge two underpinnings of Costa Rica's democratic, egalitarian image: first, the dominance of a large middle class and, second, the social equality found during the colonial period. Regarding the first, he acknowledges the presence of a middle class:

The middle class may be defined in the following manner: it is constituted by those who do not have kinship ties with [elite families], and whose standard of living and education do not permit the placing of them in the lower class. . . . The middle class would include also an important number of functionaries, of doctors and of lawyers, but it is necessary to clarify this assertion. Secretaries in the ministries and clerks in stores cannot always be considered as part of the middle class, because many are elite. The functionary, the doctor or the lawyer of the middle class dresses well, lives in the city in a comfortable house, and usually has a car. His standard of living is at times higher than that of many members of the upper class. (p. 200)

As the government expanded its service orientation after the revolution of 1948, ministry bureaucracies grew enormously, increasing dramatically the number of white collar government functionaries (Bell, 1971). With this proliferation of government bureaucracy, the middle class has appeared to grow and become more visible.

Nevertheless, as Stone (1975) points out, this middle class has always been subordinate to a small ruling class which "has constituted a political elite since the Conquest . . ." (p. 23).

Gutiérrez (1963) maintains that the middle class obtained control of Costa Rican politics in the beginning of the twentieth century, thereby fostering social equality in Costa Rica. Yet Stone (1975) shows that the major political figures of post-World War II Costa Rica have been descendants of the same families which have dominated the country's social and political life since the colonial period (pp. 125-126). Thus he suggests that class lines have been firm ever since the conquest.

Pyle (1974), another challenger of Costa Rica's idealistic image, further maintains not only that this middle class did not achieve political dominance, but also that such a political ascent, even if it had occurred, would not have promoted egalitarianism, since the so-called middle class is a highly privileged group, socially and economically superior to the vast majority of Costa Ricans:

This group obtains the important white collar, salaried jobs; lives close to good schools for its children; and lives in modest but comfortable homes with "American" luxuries. This group, like the ruling elite, is able to maintain its privileged position by virtue of the . . . special access it has to wealth, education, and power. (p. 157)

According to Pyle, this middle class did not originate from a class of small landowners but stemmed from the less successful descendants of the ruling elite (p. 148). These arguments would suggest that middle-class members were recruited from above.

Like Stone, Pyle also counters the popular assertion that egalitarian historical roots account for Costa Rica's democratic tradition.

Advocates of the popular image claim that social equality characterized the early history of the country, particularly the colonial period when Costa Rica suffered economically. As Stone (1975) notes, the colonial period was indeed a time of poverty due to the failure of cacao; yet the hidalgos of the ruling class still maintained more wealth, power, privilege, and social status than other colonists (pp. 51-66).

This stratification has been reinforced by the rural, quasi-plantation nature of the Costa Rican economy. Largely based on the export of coffee, bananas, and sugar, the economy is labor-intensive, requiring a large working force to do the manual labor needed for the cultivation and harvesting of the crops.

Descendants of the hidalgos have continued to play a patrón role in this quasi-plantation economy and to dominate Costa Rica's political and social history, as vividly pointed out by Stone (1975).

A genealogical analysis of the families of the first conquistadores puts graphically manifest the existence of the [upper] class and its political importance since the Conquest. Therefore, from Conquistador Juan Vazquez de Coronado, for example, have descended approximately 300 deputies [members of the legislature] and 29 presidents; from Antonio de Acosta Arevalo, 140 deputies and 25 presidents, and there exist numerous unions between descendants of both families. From only three of these families have come 33 of the 44 presidents of the Republic, and the degree of endogamy is so high that many of them have ties of kinship with all three. In the same manner, three quarters of the deputies come from one dozen of the families studied. The fact that the owners of the coffee estates also come from the same class is shown by the fact that a third of the first coffee-growing families descend from Vazquez de Coronado and a third from Acosta Arevalo. (p. 40)

The continued presence of this ruling dynasty stems largely from marriage strategies used to concentrate wealth and political power. With the exception of marriages to prominent foreigners, Stone argues that the Costa Rican elite concentrated power through marriage alliances,

particularly marriage of two members of one line with two members of another line (e.g., two brothers of one family would marry two sisters of another) (pp. 189-190).

As revealed by Stone's genealogical studies, this highly endogamous, tightly controlled elite has been effective in maintaining wealth, social standing, and political power from colonial times to the present. In discussing Costa Rican society vis à vis its Latin American neighbors, Stone (1975) concludes:

In Costa Rica, the importance of transmitting political power from generation to generation makes manifest the ascriptive and particularistic aspect of the society.⁴ In this sense, Costa Rican society does not differ essentially from Latin American societies in general. (p. 201)

Stone challenges the widely held view in Costa Rica that education within formally recognized institutions offers a vehicle for social and economic mobility. Higher education, in particular, is seen as providing credentials for high socioeconomic position and is sought by many as an avenue for social mobility.

Yet, Pyle (1974) claims that the promise of formal education is rarely fulfilled. He asserts that the upper class "controls educational institutions and establishes educational standards and requirements which are most easily fulfilled by themselves" (p. 127), thereby restricting economic mobility by limiting educational opportunity, particularly at the university level. The relative inaccessibility of higher education for the non-elite serves to perpetuate social class lines.

The offspring of the elite in Costa Rica have always had special advantages in acquiring education, especially advanced education.

The effect has not been readily recognized; as Pyle notes, the "relatively high literacy rate in Costa Rica masks the fact that higher levels of education for remunerative positions in the society are effectively restricted to a small few" (p. 191). This elitist feature of Costa Rican education has been similarly outlined by Goldrich (1966) and Denton (1971).

In Stone's (1975) discussion of elitism of Costa Rica, he points out that Costa Rican society is characterized by a "delicate balance between elitism and egalitarianism" which is manifested in the limited efficacy of education and training for economic mobility.

For example, the political structure has a civil service which reflects universal criteria: to be named to a great many administrative posts, it is necessary for the candidates to take an exam. However, the system works so that, in spite of the exams, family ties or political party are in reality the determining factors in the final selection of candidates. (p. 202)

The belief in education as a means of social and economic mobility, nevertheless, is deeply embedded in the minds of most Costa Ricans. As we observed in our subject population, many working-class people make financial sacrifices to provide educational opportunities for their children in hopes of social betterment. This is elaborated in Chapter III, which focuses on the family of orientation of our subjects and the dynamics of socialization characteristic of this working-class population.

This overview of Costa Rican class structure suggests the constraints which operate upon the working class, a theme to be developed later in this study. The belief in the historical reasons for a democratic Costa Rican society were quoted at length by our working-class subjects during interviews; so too was education seen as their

major "plan" for realizing mobility aspirations for their offspring.

An additional perspective on this controversy about the stratification in Costa Rica may therefore be provided by a description and analysis of how members of San José's working class function within the city, interact among themselves, and were socialized to their adult roles. These themes are pursued in the following chapters.

Chapter II describes the urban environment of San José as it affects the lives of the study's working-class subjects. The description begins with a discussion of the use of adult social networks to gain entry into the working class, an approach stemming from a conceptualization of the city as a series of interdependent relational systems characterized by interactional regularities, customary behavior, and values. This brief discussion is followed by a description of the city's physical features, historical development, and residential zones, which provides background for a discussion of the working-class status characteristics of the subject population.

Chapter III describes the subjects' early life-history experiences in order to present a profile of the working-class family of orientation and to illustrate two distinct socialization patterns among the subjects as working-class youth, one pattern generally associated with users of cannabis and another pattern with non-users. The analysis focuses on the subjects' relational systems of family, informal peer groups, and education in order to demonstrate that cannabis use or non-use is correlated with fundamental social processes antedating the onset of use and that such use may be regarded as a normal behavioral option for some in the working class.

Chapter IV focuses on the adult social world of the working-class subjects. The dynamics of family, work, and informal relational groupings are emphasized to show the functional, integral role of cannabis use in the lives of some working-class men. This analysis will illuminate the economic and social constraints on working-class life, thus underscoring the stratified nature of Costa Rican society.

Chapter V presents a summary, conclusions, and a statement of the need for further research.

CHAPTER 11

THE SETTING

Underlying the research approach used for this study is a conceptualization of the city as a series of interdependent relational subsystems (e.g., informal, family, economic, religious, political, associational) existing in time and space and in a given environment. As emphasized by Arensberg and Kimball (1965), community must be viewed as process involving cultural behavior and interactional regularities in an environmental context.

In this chapter, the urban environment of San José is described, emphasizing its physical features and historical development in order to define the city as the residential base and social and economic world of our working-class subjects. This discussion begins with a description of our entry into the social world of working-class San José through adult social networks. While highlighting the scope of these networks within the working-class, this description points out the lack of social linkages with the middle class, suggesting the stratified nature of Costa Rican society.

This general description of the urban environment includes an elaboration of residential zones which provides background for the discussion of criteria used for establishing the working-class nature of the subject population. In light of this environmental context, their status characteristics are elaborated, with special attention given to

dwelling area within the city, housing type within the dwelling area, and occupational type.

Entry Into Working-Class Social Networks

At the beginning of the project, we realized that the subjects needed for the study would neither form a separate entity nor be conveniently located in one particular place. It was expected that recruitment of the sample would be with people dispersed throughout the city.

The most urgent initial problem was how to establish contact with users of an illegal drug residing in the metropolitan area of over 438,000 inhabitants. This search was hampered by the users' skills of evasion which had become refined as pressure from the police had alerted them to the dangers of conspicuous drug consumption and the risks of careless social contacts with strangers who might be masking their true identity.

Early in the research, we discovered sites in working-class areas where drug users and non-users met for social interchange. These nodes of interaction included a park corner, a bar, a particular street corner, and an athletic field. To gain entry into these social circles, we frequented these places, making ourselves visible, answering questions, and chatting with persons who happened by. Gradually it was understood that we were not INTERPOL officers and could be trusted.

Through these contacts, we discovered that the social world of these working-class men was elaborate and extensive within the working-class stratum. Drives to "run an errand" for a contact often turned into hours-long treks over the metropolitan area as "business" was

conducted. In such tours, it became obvious that the subjects had wide-ranging and often esoteric social networks which were not restricted to geographical or residential boundaries, though clearly limited to the working class.

Communication techniques within this social world were highly sophisticated and effective, and our observations of the communication system suggested that the most effective method for working with this dispersed working-class population would be to gain entry into their social networks. This approach facilitated our search for subjects. By following the nets of contacts of particular subjects and by remaining at centers of interaction, we met a wide range of potential subjects. We conservatively estimate that in the time that field research was conducted we encountered at least 1,500 persons.

In the course of our research, we came to view the city as a series of interdependent relational subsystems. It was seen as a field upon which a complicated web of social networks was projected. This perspective permitted us to obtain a working-class sample, representing a wide range of barrio and occupational categories characteristic of that class. Subjects were contacted through their participation in social networks into which we gained entry, thereby providing us with a socially connected, geographically dispersed, economically active sample.

Individuals with stable presence in key working-class interaction nodes (i.e., bars, street corners, stories, barbershops, shoemaker shops) became our links to various working-class networks. These central figures were brokers for street news and points of reference for others in the circle of acquaintances.

Once we had established rapport with these key individuals, they facilitated our research by introducing us to men in their networks and legitimizing our presence. In this way, we gained access to the social networks of our working-class subjects, permitting the in vivo study of drug use in the context of working-class social processes.

This approach revealed the adaptive urban behavior of working-class men, particularly the personal formulation of their order and routine which permitted them to cope through personal networks with what would otherwise be an overwhelming complex of impersonal forces and pressures. These men perceived the city in certain ways and devised strategies to define it according to their needs and resources. They found ways to buffer themselves from the full impact of the city's density and heterogeneity by activating personal networks. They found that their social environment could be defined through selection of interactions. Reorganizing activities by the individuals actualized an emergent structure of interpersonal relationships that allowed them to cope with the diverse situations of urban life. The environmental context of this working-class life is described below.

San José: An Overview

The San José metropolitan area is home to almost a half-million residents, yet the visitor is impressed by the city's smallness. This is because the important buildings and places of interest are concentrated on the low ridge upon which the central part of San José is built. To the east and north loom the volcanoes Irazu, Barba, and Poas, and to the south and west steep foothills jut up just beyond the outer fingers of urbanization.

Immediately north and south of downtown San José are sloped ravines and stream beds. They provide natural boundaries within the metropolitan area between the central city and the surrounding ridges where towns as old as San José have grown. Consequently, the low land near the streams and ravines and the areas between the ridges have provided space for residential neighborhoods as the urban population expanded. The land between the central ridge and the surrounding ridges has been filled in with housing and commercial development. In vertical profile, the most marginal housing is toward the bottom of the ravines. The most impoverished working-class members find housing there.

The most prominent ridges are found along the east-west axis of the city and run through the length of the valley situated between the volcanoes and the hills. Thus, there is still open land both east and west of the metropolitan area. The government has stimulated growth along this axis by building major highways and widening downtown streets to facilitate traffic flow.

The contrast between the east-west axis and the north-south axis is striking. Driving along the former, one is impressed with the industry, new housing, "big money" commercial vigor, new highways, new construction, and the kind of chaos associated with rapid change. Driving the north-south route takes one through the mixed industrial and working-class residential neighborhoods, marginal ravine barrios, commercial and industrial development along main arteries to the suburbs, patched-up roads, and, ultimately, into coffee groves which ring the city.

Downtown congestion graphically demonstrates the city's magnetic attractive forces. Used school buses, purchased from the United States, carry the population of San José and, in some instances, continue to display the designations of former use, such as "Monroe County Unified School District." Most buses carry colorful names like "Cassius Clay," "Batman," painted on them by individual owners. People are drawn downtown for a multitude of reasons. A group of boys carrying cleated shoes and a soccer ball are off to the huge sports field, the sabana, to the west of the town for a game. Stout mothers, arm in arm with young daughters, are doing family shopping. Old men drop off to the sidewalk cafes on the Central Park to drink coffee and watch the passersby. Young men comment suggestively to women about their most intimate attractions, while the latter stoically ignore the compliments.

Driving anywhere in the metropolitan area, one is impressed by the number of bars in nearly every block. Some are rustic, unadorned places selling the cheapest liquor, a cane liquor called guaro, without the snacks or bocas, eaten in other more respectable establishments. Like the buses, they sport a glossary of intriguing and humorous names: The Office, The Fleet, Ring's, The Big Shot. Shots of liquor in the former establishments are consumed undiluted. Their ragged clientele know official Costa Rica only through the law officers who round them up occasionally for drunken behavior.

One gathers a number of impressions while driving about the city. Notable is the forest of television antennae which fill the sky in all barrios regardless of economic status. Also noteworthy are the electric

wires overhead which assume baroque, spidery patterns of complexity as rewiring and modification of the system by the government power monopoly create generations of electrical fixtures. Such configurations illustrate that government utility services are available in the most marginal neighborhoods.

Axle-breaking chuckholes catch the sight-seeing driver by surprise, reminding one of the cartoon which appeared in a major newspaper, La Nación. Two citizens were standing in the street looking at a smoking crater. The first asked if this was a new volcano. The second replied, "No, it's a bus making a stop at the bottom of this hole."

Inferior street repair is not concentrated in the poorer parts of town, as might be supposed. Some of the worst streets are in the Los Yoses area, where many middle and upper-class residents dwell. Cab drivers joke about how terrible streets are the penalty for voting for Martin in the elections, the most conservative candidate, who was soundly defeated.

Driving away from the center of town, passing through the low-land residential zones, the small towns built on low ridges, and past the commercial and residential construction occurring at the edge of urban areas, one abruptly arrives in rural Costa Rica. Here the contrast is stark as one looks at the chiseled green hills and volcanic structures which give an Alpine aspect to the country. Tiny villages centered upon various agricultural products seem centuries removed from the exhaust blanketed congestion of San José. Oxcarts are sometimes still used in the rural areas to haul sugarcane; barefoot farmers,

or campesinos, wearing canvas hats and carrying the omnipresent machete, ride their horses long distances from their farms to arrive at small marketing-center towns. After completing their business, they tie up their steeds in front of local saloons and buy a drink at the bar. In these remote rural towns, one sees the shadow of an earlier Costa Rica which was agricultural in base, sparse in population, and isolated from the world. From these rural roots, modern San José has recently grown and matured.

Background for the Development of Urban Life

San José is located on the broad, rough intramountain valley, commonly referred to as the central plateau at an altitude of 1,160 meters. Within 50 kilometers are the other three major cities of Costa Rica. With this concentration of population and commercial activity, the area completely dominates the rest of Costa Rica. It was not always so. From its discovery by conquistador Juan de Cavallon in 1561 until relatively recent times, the central plateau was a rustic farming complex with only rudimentary village complexes. The Spanish found neither gold nor willing Indians to exploit, and the area was a colonial backwater which was utterly ignored. The nearly complete absence of colonial buildings today reflects the lack of attention given Costa Rica by the Viceroyalty in Guatemala.

According to the Costa Rican Academy of Geography and History, San José was founded in 1737 (Académia de Geografía y Historia, 1952). By the end of the eighteenth century, the city had grown only to slightly under 5,000 inhabitants (Rodríguez and Terán, 1967, p. 27). When independence from Spain was proclaimed in 1821, it took several

months for word to reach Costa Rica from Guatemala, and belated celebrations were held in the villages on the plateau.

During the nineteenth century the internal municipal organization of San José took place, with appropriate administrative units and utility services. The first census of the country in 1864 showed that San José had grown to slightly less than 9,000 residents. During the second half of the nineteenth century, the opening of the British market for coffee (as demonstrated by the growing fleet of merchant vessels of William Le Lachaer) symbolized the first significant participation in world commerce on the part of Costa Rica (Stone, 1975, pp. 82-87). This discovery of economic potential was associated with the beginnings of the population growth which saw the central plateau intensively urbanized in the San José region during the first half of the twentieth century.

Urban Growth and the Evolution of Modern San José

Growth in the San José metropolitan area has been rapid and dramatic, as noted in the following table:

Table 1

The San José Metropolitan Area: 1927-1973

Year	Costa Rica	Metropolitan Area	Percent of Costa Rica
1927	471,524	89,006	18.8
1950	800,736	179,736	22.4
1963	1,336,274	320,431	23.9
1973	1,820,000	436,862	24.0

Source: Ministerio de Obras Públicas y Transportes, 1973, p. 5.

Population increase has resulted in extensive development of residential areas near the center of the city. These areas grew in two surges. The first took place during the first two decades of this century, which saw the formation of the "southern barrios" from which many of our working-class subjects were drawn. These neighborhoods were no more than a few miles from the center of town and were largely established in their present configurations by the early 1920s (Rodriguez and Terán, 1967, p. 74). It is reported that during the early 1920s the density of housing had greatly increased, with some residences noticeably impoverished and the majority built contiguous with each other (*ibid.*, p. 76). A second surge is reported for the late 1930s and 1940s when a second set of southern working-class barrios developed, further out than the first, and a complex of neighborhoods east of the center emerged. These recently formed zones also provided a number of subjects for the study. Working-class men with jobs in the metropolitan area live with their families in these areas.

Construction of housing since the 1950s has also been intense, the most notable examples being the government housing authority projects south and west of the city's center. The government has been ambitious in providing housing and urban services to this new urban population, and although residents' expectations about the quality of services have exceeded actual accomplishment, vital services and transportation arteries have been established. Of particular note is the extensive system of bus routes which provides convenient, cheap transportation to the entire urban population.

Although rapid population growth has dramatically changed the physical configuration of the city, traditional patterns of anchoring movements through the city to the heart of San José have not changed. All bus routes either feed into the Central Park facing the cathedral or to special stops within a few blocks. There is no inter-neighborhood service, unless the individual's stop happens to be on the route back to the center of town. Upon reaching the Central Park, a rider must switch to the appropriate bus to go back out to his destination. This centrality of interaction may be vividly witnessed at rush hour, when seemingly endless charges of exhaust-belching buses roar along the edges of the Central Park, unloading and loading at the same time, often in no more than a minute or two. Police are present frantically blowing whistles to keep the buses from waiting too long to load. Waiting for the bus marked for their neighborhood, hundreds of passengers are watching the approaching buses.

The Central Park and its adjacent streets are the most dramatic of the interaction nodes we observed and are important for the concentration of activities engaged in by San José residents to be found in the immediate area. The simple confluence of activity through the park and its perimeters practically guarantees meeting an acquaintance. There are a number of individuals who are fixtures in the central area, including several different groupings of shoeshine boys, a couple of guards, traffic police, an evangelist, lottery salespersons, money changers, newspaper vendors, indigent beggars and musicians, car washers and self-appointed guardians, full-time loiterers, and, of course, full-time employees of the bars, restaurants, and commercial

establishments. Many of these persons have assumed the role of information broker, and often a message left with someone in the Central Park will be delivered the same day. Ringed around the park are the city's most popular movie theaters and several crowded all-night restaurants and bars. Within a couple of blocks, there are a number of dance halls where contact with prostitutes can be made.

Without walking more than two blocks from the Central Park, one can experience the extremes of San José life. The elegant Gran Hotel Costa Rica and National Theater provide stark contrast to the cheap bars and brothels only a few hundred yards away. This lack of discrete specialization of the central area of the city is evidence of its role in the lives of a wide range of San José residents and provides a point of reference and identification in a city where so much change is occurring away from the center in the residential and industrial areas.

The Physical Configuration of Residential Neighborhoods

While relatively densely populated, the city is small in area, with a reduced-scale impression being preserved by a very rural system of giving directions. A series of key landmarks such as a store, a building, even a tree, are used as points of reference from which directions are given in varas, which is technically 33 inches. A city block is considered to be 100 varas long. One might live, for example, from the famous fig tree 200 varas south and 50 varas east, or 25 varas south of the Primavera drugstore. Any taxi driver would know where to go given only those directions.

Small scale is preserved not only in spatial distributions over the city but in the vertical profile as well. The construction in

San José during the first half of this century was primarily one level, with only some of the more elegant residences and commercial buildings downtown having two or more floors. In a typical neighborhood, small businesses abound, often occupying the front room of a residence.

There are small grocery stores (pulperías), shoemakers, hardware outlets, furniture factories on a very small scale, bakeries, automobile repair and body shops, tailors, and other small retail or service activities. Often the families of the owners of these establishments live in back rooms or upstairs rooms in the building.

Interspersed among these businesses are narrow-fronted houses, usually made of wood, which extend to the middle of the block. These are narrow, but extremely long houses, often with an open patio at the back for laundry and a small garden. Another kind of house of very low quality is called pasajes. These houses develop along alleys extending to the center of blocks and are a series of one- and two-room dwellings. These are rented by the most marginally employed working-class residents.

Costa Rican observers of city life have assigned much importance to the particular physical configuration of housing. Rodriquez and Terán (1967) assign social personality characteristics of independence to the existence of individual dwellings with private entrances and point out that residents may exercise their uniqueness through idiosyncratic decorative arrangements or house color.

Eugenio Rodriquez Vega (1953), in a work which is regarded by Costa Rican social scientists as an early benchmark, observed about his society: "It is very rare to find among us the case of neighboring

families who maintain close contact. When issues are reduced to formalities, all goes along well" (p. 29). In interviews, we discovered that propinquity in itself was rarely the basis for a relationship. Subjects would express the desire to have their own house, with a private entrance in order "to live tranquilly." They reported: "Better not to be involved with anyone." An independent self-contained house is a perfect realization of this desire and aspect of social personality.

While this observation is true between working-class neighbors, it is even more the case where upper-class housing is found in areas where working-class areas are interspersed. Residential or spatial propinquity in such neighborhoods is not correlated with social interaction.

For the working classes, the possibility of realizing home ownership is increasingly reduced as commercial encroachment on the residential neighborhoods near the center push property values and rents up. Economic pressures have forced some of our subjects to double up in a house to share rent. In an extreme case in a southern barrio, we found four families living in a single home.

Recent changes in the skyline of San José through commercial construction and expansion are radical when considered in the context of San José's rural roots and extremely late development. The shock of changes in the vertical profile of the city so impressed observers Rodriquez and Terán (1967, p. 139) that they included a profile in their book, demonstrating the vertical distortions to San José of the construction of the Central Bank, the Gran Hotel Costa Rica, the Social Security Administration Building, and the Supreme Court. These buildings

are all within a few blocks of the Central Park. Given the extensive urbanization in the surrounding areas of San José, the conversion of coffee farms into suburbs of the city, and the dramatic changes in the center, it may be said that San José has been completely transformed in the last quarter of a century. These changes are reflected in the face of residential areas from which we drew our subject population and which may be described in specific categories outlined below.

Typology of Residential Barrios

While the city is compact, facilitating easy mobility about it, we noticed a wide range of residential neighborhoods in the metropolitan area and found ourselves dealing with all but the most rich and the most poor of these. Spanning a range of types therefore caused us to see the necessity of dealing with the kind of residential origins of the subjects as part of the description of their social and economic context.

The typology was derived from systematic visits of the neighborhoods, where we looked at the kinds of housing and services which were available, geographical position with regard to the center of town and available transportation, and an evaluation of the present trend of the area, as indicated by immediate past history, present construction or modifications of the neighborhoods, and future plans for change as suggested by road building, new services, housing or other interventions.

The rich texture of diversity within the metropolitan area is striking, particularly the pattern of high contrast in residential type, even in areas which are contiguous. The rapid growth of the metropolitan

area has caused the coffee groves which used to surround the city to be consumed in urban expansion, thus changing the configuration of the city. The typology begins with the residential areas which have remained intact in the center of the city.

Central City Barrios

The central barrios form the commercial and residential heart of the San José metropolitan area. Located only a few blocks from the Central Park, they are the locus for a wide range of economic activity and housing types. Historically, the central barrios were the first to be developed as residential areas. The configuration of their streets are shown on the earliest maps available for San José (Rodriquez and Terán, 1967). Their development as a commercial center has caused much of their residential space to be converted to economic uses. Consequently there is high diversification in the ways the space is used in this area. Old elite housing remains along with modest working-class dwellings, the latter often being the site of businesses or shops as well as residences.

Walking through these barrios, one frequently sees congested car, bus, and truck traffic on narrow two-lane streets. Capricious double parking clogs the traffic flow, causing a din of honking horns and clouds of diesel and gasoline exhaust fumes. Bus routes must pass through these barrios en route to peripheral areas.

Jammed right up against the narrow sidewalks are a plethora of shops and businesses. Shoemakers and tailors provide personal services along with barbershops and small soda shops which serve simple meals, fruit drinks, and coffee. The range of repair facilities is impressive

and highly specialized. In a couple of blocks, one may recap a tire, rebuild a battery, buy shoemaking supplies, order custom-made shoes, have a quick drink, buy a lottery ticket, order a tombstone, bind a book, visit a house of prostitution, eat a meal, and catch a bus to an impressive array of destinations.

Central barrio space is distinctively used in diverse, contrasting ways, providing not only a wide range of commercial services to the residents of the rest of the city, but also most of the city's entertainment. First- and second-run movie theaters, popular dance halls, bars featuring shows combining vaudeville and topless dancing, restaurants, all-night cafes, and rooming houses which service prostitution are all concentrated in the central barrio area. Although nighttime activity shifts to different sections of the same blocks, the intensity of interaction remains at almost as high a level during the nighttime as during the daytime.

Officials of the police force are always present. Unarmed traffic police (transitos) are visible in the area day and night. Black and white Dodge radio-patrol cars tour the area. Raids are sporadic in the bars of the area, with drug traffic, largely marihuana, being the target of the generalized searches and interrogations. Numerous inebriated men are picked up by the police and taken to the central penitentiary where a detoxification clinic provides first aid. It is not uncommon, however, to find comatose individuals on the sidewalks at night and in the early morning.

Housing in the area is quite varied. Expensive apartments may be rented in new two- to three-story structures which have been built

in the last few years. Old wooden houses as well as new and old business buildings are found in the same block. One- and two-story wooden housing represents an older generation of residences for downtown city dwellers. Many blocks of these structures, however, have been torn down to build government office buildings and schools. Some lots have been cleared and converted into lucrative parking lots. Space for a few playgrounds has been preserved, including small plazas with well-used fixtures and benches. A train station and its track provide a natural boundary between the central barrios and the urban residential and small business areas to the south.

Half of the central barrios included in the study take their names from the parish churches. These tend to be stark structures, made of concrete, wood and metal sheeting painted intriguing combinations of blue, orange, yellow, and white. Artistically and architecturally they descend from no apparent tradition of note. In one case a forbidding barbed-wire fence surrounds the church grounds, barren except for a small cornfield and the massive, stark, faded ocre-painted church building. Ironically, while little interest or attention is lavished on the church structures themselves, attendance at Mass is impressively high--Sunday Masses are standing room only throughout the day.

The central barrios often blend into each other with no definite boundaries. Often the residents themselves are uncertain about the exact limits of their neighborhoods. Generally the boundary between the central barrios and the stable residential neighborhoods contiguous to the central areas is clear, though the outer fringes of the central barrios and the adjacent section of the contiguous barrios are similar in socio-economic and housing type.

Stable Residential Barrios--Contiguous to Central City

These residential neighborhoods are usually delineated from the central city with such boundaries as railroad tracks, a stream or small river, or a ravine. Several of the barrios in this category straddle major thoroughfares and serve as conduits into the city. Others have a more enclave aspect with no direct through traffic.

They are clearly working-class areas, with broad similarity in housing types. Costa Rican professionals of the middle and upper class would never conceive of residing in such areas.

These neighborhoods developed during a period ranging from the 1920s to the late 1940s and early 1950s. Typically these barrios have open space interspersed through them, and the outer fringes of the neighborhoods blend into open fields of coffee groves.

The mix of business and residence is striking, though not as strongly developed as in the central barrios. Often, typical one-story wooden housing is converted for commercial purposes. A common pattern is for the owner to convert the front room of his home into a business and continue to reside in the remainder. These spaces in the home are typically used for shoemaking, barbershops, small vegetable stands, or grocery stores.

The common house is wood, with a corrugated metal roof. Generally these residences are well made, neatly painted with clean interiors and decorated with a range of religious symbols, plastic flowers, and assorted figures and ceramics. Some proud owners place special shiny plaques giving the owner's name and occupation on their doors. These denote the houses of successful artisans and tradesmen.

Government services are ubiquitous. All barrios regularly receive water, electricity, and garbage collection services. Because of heavy traffic and lack of zealous maintenance, the roads in the barrios are characterized by chuckholes and general roughness. This situation provoked a mild demonstration in one of the barrios during July and August of 1973, and since then, repairs have been made. Even in the poorest areas of these barrios, teams of workers from the governmental electrical utility may be regularly observed installing service and making repairs.

While the barrios are residential in character, some are characterized by light-industry penetration. For example, one barrio has a vegetable oil plant with its attendant warehouses and machinshop, an office-machine warehouse, a sausage plant, a clothing factory, and a series of grain and grocery chain warehouses. Workers in these businesses may live in the barrio, but more likely they live elsewhere in the city. This industrial presence is due to the fact that when large-scale commercial construction began to move from the downtown San José area in the early 1950s, land was available in these regions.

A resident of one of the barrios commented on the effects he attributed to the growth of a stable industrial presence in the barrio:

Now the barrio is just a bit changed because now it has a good road and it has more industry, you see? Factories and all that, and a higher level of people is coming in. Before it was just a slum with a bad road and was popular with people with no resources, who lived in shanties. . . . We are improving now, bit by bit, because better people are coming in.

The neighborhoods typically have a parish church with an undeveloped park adjacent to it. In some of the barrios the church administers small parochial schools. Protestant churches are in evidence, with at

least two or three in each barrio. Pairs of immaculately attired Mormon missionaries also make regular sorties into the area.

Bus transportation is ubiquitous here as in the other neighborhoods, with bus stops being main interaction sites. Private companies obtain concessions from the government to operate lines to individual neighborhoods. While residents complain about bus service and its cost (about 4 1/2 U.S. cents), most buses appear on the quarter hour and are very dependable.

Many of these barrios are built on the slopes of ravines, in the bottom of which are small streams and rivers. These geographical landmarks also mark boundaries between barrios and delineate them from the central city itself. Beyond the low slopes of these barrios are the outer ridges of the San José metropolitan area upon which the satellite towns are built.

A notable mark of upward mobility in these barrios is the "over-build house"--a modest wooden residence to which have been added extra rooms, a porch, a garage, expensive wood facades, elaborate iron grating over the windows, and metal or wood fencing. The investment in the basic residence may be explained by the individual's attaining a level of income or savings which permit either this investment or migration to another, more prestigious middle-class area. The individual thus demonstrates his higher status through conspicuous investment. Kin and friendship circles are, therefore, not disrupted, but the fruits of success are realized in a higher standard of living.

The stable residential barrios contiguous to the central city provide relatively inexpensive housing with easy access to San José

and the other barrios of the city. The poorest housing is located on the steepest slopes and near the bottom of the ravines. These are shacks pieced together from packing crates or wooden houses which have usually fallen into disrepair. Steep alleys wind down nearly to stream bottom, and houses are packed on both sides of the slopes. Even these, however, have electricity, and TV aerials sprout from their roofs. Another feature of the contiguous barrio is the presence of open land both within the barrio and on its outer fringes. Space is more abundant than in the central barrios. The government is gradually converting some of these areas into athletic fields for barrio residents. Soccer is the sport of the barrios and Costa Rica. Not surprisingly, the young men in the barrios form athletic teams and clubs. Where these are strong, one finds well-appointed athletic fields at local school sites, some of which even have night lights.

Stable Residential Barrios--Government Housing Projects

A number of housing projects have been constructed by the government in the last decade, largely for middle-class and lower-middle-class residents. These are intended to be "planned" communities with a full range of services. The houses are typically one-level concrete-block structures built in a contiguous configuration, like row houses.

Government housing projects seem clearly the domain of the Costa Rican middle class. Many of the residents work in the government bureaucracy or business and are able to make the payments required. Three of the final subjects, two users and one non-user dwelled in these projects. One user was living with his wife's family, whose head of household was a government functionary; the other was a draftsman, the

only middle-class profesional in the study. The non-user was the brother-in-law of the project's secretary, who lived in an extended-family compound.

A resident of one of these projects characterized his home as quite middle class:

My barrio is for the middle class, and I find that we have all we need and are better off than the majority of the barrios. We are progressing--though we need more schools and more sports fields--but we're making giant strides. I think it's better than any other middle-class barrio.

Each home has a small plot of grass in front and a small utility yard behind. Uniformity in neighborhood aspect is a goal, with project regulations forbidding modification of the house appearance. However, residents have succeeded in giving their houses unique appearances by adding new paint, fences, gardens, or a miscellany of structural appendages. A large social security system clinic serves the residents of the largest of the housing projects, while others have easy access to ambulances or smaller clinics. This facility, as well as several schools and the presence of the municipality's seat in the alcaldia, demonstrate coordinated planning.

Most residential areas disturbed by the construction of these projects are minimal in area, since the new homes fill coffee groves and other open spaces, often creating a population concentration where none existed before. Some projects may in time become satellite towns if a community structure and tradition develop.

A second form of government housing project emerges when the new housing is grafted onto an existing barrio. Though possessing the same barrio name, the contrast between pre-existing lower-class

housing and government lower-middle-class housing is stark and underscores the difficulty faced by the Costa Rican government in approaching the housing problem. Because of problems involved in financing housing reform, the government has had to design projects which have the best chance of recuperating their initial investment. Therefore, projects aimed at financially solvent middle-class workers have been favored over housing for the poor. Though the need for lower-class housing is greater, such projects have generally been judged financially insolvent. Housing needs for the poor have been assigned to the Institute for Social Aid which has fewer funds available than the Housing Institute which caters to those who can pay.

In design and execution, the projects are intended to be low density, comfortable residential blocks. Recognition of the special needs of children is represented by the pedestrian mall design for access to houses, where broad walkways and grass plots have been constructed through the center of blocks with houses on each side. The space thus opened up for communal use without traffic is ideal for children's play. Such a design also promotes interaction of neighbors by limiting access routes to a single walkway.

Much like the buildings they have replaced, some of these houses have been converted for commercial purposes, largely into tailor, shoe-making, or electrical repair shops. Such conversion, however, is much rarer than in the contiguous residential areas (stable residential barrios).

There are grocery shops, meat shops, and small soda shops in these projects, but the range of services available is much more

limited than in the areas nearer the center of the city. Therefore, most residents depend upon bus transportation to carry them into town to shop and run errands.

Residents in other lower-class barrios of the city mention the projects as examples of desirable housing to which they themselves aspire. A resident of a transitional barrio commended on his aspirations to live in one of the government projects.

But the poor don't have it--they have to go live far away from the capital--a project is pretty and all, but one like me can't live there--the houses are expensive--people who work in offices, accountants, skilled people, they can live there--I can't pay for one of those houses--only people who have had the luck to study and have good jobs--it can't be like that with me--because the working class have all the problems.

Insofar as the demand for improved housing is insatiable, the ability of the government to provide housing will always be taxed.

Satellite Towns

Before the mushrooming urbanization of San José many small towns surrounded the capital and enjoyed a clear independent identity. Now, however, while preserving the physical form of provincial towns, they have been largely encompassed by the political and economic dominance of the nation's capital. At their nucleus they are Spanish-Colonial-type grid towns centered on the plaza-church complex in the center. Checkerboard city blocks extend out from the central park and church, and the town's outer boundaries are distinct, marked by open land or definite geographical features.

Some of the satellite towns lie in the path of the general extensive east-west axis of development which is extending the city rapidly in these directions. One satellite town has already been engulfed by the city, and others may lose their geographical integrity in the next few years. The satellite towns are located on the high points of land surrounding San José, and as the low areas between them and the city fill in, the discrete identity of the towns will become less apparent.

The satellite towns provide a wider range of entertainment and economic resources than do contiguous residential barrios. The towns have their own cinema, a wider range of restaurants and dance halls, and more abundant athletic facilities. Many of these towns have their own markets and diverse businesses, making it less imperative to go to the central city to shop and run errands.

Several of the towns have well-known civic fiestas which draw residents from the more central areas out to the towns to participate in the festivities. Thus, the towns have their own ritual cycle and community organization. While their contiguous neighborhoods are relatively homogeneous in socioeconomic type, the satellite towns are characterized by their socioeconomic stratification, with areas for those at both the upper and lower ends of the social scale. The range of social diversity and scale is thus present in the satellite towns.

The presence of government institutions is obvious, particularly around the town square. These include civil guard posts, government clinics, large concrete schools, Red Cross facilities, and alcaldia,

or seats of municipal government. The satellite towns also have their own cemeteries and branch offices of downtown banks, significant features of semi-autonomy.

The plaza forms the center of town life. Though usually developed to a minimal degree, the plazas form the site for youth games, school parades and formations, and celebrations. The towns' most important businesses are either on the square or within a block.

At least half of the satellite towns have been developed as residential areas for San José's professional class and, in some cases, the established upper class. These new elegant areas are on the fringe of the satellite towns, and the residents interact minimally with the older residents. One of the satellite towns has achieved fame due to fugitive millionaire Robert Vesco's purchase of a half-million dollar compound, making him the town's most famous resident.

Peripheral Transitional Barrios

These barrios are presently in great flux. Initially they were occupied by impoverished working-class families. Now they are sites of extensive street paving, rapidly expanding commercial development, destruction of old housing, new factories, and much open land. The next five years will determine which of several possible development paths will be taken by these barrios. Housing construction might be arrested at present levels, with the areas developing primarily into zones for light industry. Another possible development path might involve the cessation of industrial development, with extensive housing expansion converting the areas into new stable residential areas. A third course might involve the mix of the two patterns, creating new kinds of urban development not encompassed in this typology.

Contrasts of residence type are striking, with new upper-middle-class residences being built in some of the transitional areas near streets with strikingly lower-class housing. Land speculation, increasing land values, and competition for the available space will surely provoke tension between new residents and investors and the old residents.

The transitional areas are notable for the variation in the kinds of activities found there. One famous barrio of this type has a number of large, elegant "motels" especially constructed to serve as discrete trysting places. Only a few yards away are located mundane furniture factories, coffee groves, housing of various types, and a small shopping complex. There is much open land in this area, however, and the future of the neighborhood is uncertain.

Made of concrete, with simple designs, churches in the transitional neighborhoods are typically new and are even less adorned than the stark churches found throughout the central city. The absence of the elaboration of barrio churches, plazas, or centralized sites for interaction suggests the more transient, corporateless nature of these barrios. Although land is available, particularly in the transitional neighborhoods which are expanding into coffee groves, there is little evidence of designation of space for communal uses. Perhaps the competing commercial interests will not allow for such land use as would be represented in common playgrounds or parks.

While several well-known dance halls and the motels previously mentioned are centers of the metropolitan night life and entertainment, the neighborhoods also have compestral aspects drawing city residents

who want to spend an afternoon in the "country" or picnic with the family in the fast-shrinking coffee groves without leaving the metropolitan area.

Squatter Settlements

While squatter settlements have been described as providing massive housing for many of Latin America's poor urban population, they are relatively uncommon in the San José metropolitan area. The only two squatter settlements from which we drew subjects are only three and ten years old. Each has several hundred residents who invaded municipal land in a haphazard fashion. Since their establishment, they have grown steadily, although the residents do not report the kind of planning and coordinated strategies reported for the Lima barriadas (Mangin, 1970).

Both squatter settlements have line-village configurations, with shanty housing built on both sides of a very narrow, essentially impassable dirt street. While there are no provisions for walking or riding in the rainy season with pavement, sidewalks, or the like, the government has provided electricity and water to the older of the two settlements.

The older barrio has a small concrete chapel with a corrugated metal roof built by the residents. This chapel doubles for meetings of the sports club and weekly movies sponsored by a priest from the nearby satellite town who has "adopted" the settlement. He makes weekly sorties into the settlement, tending to the spiritual needs and helping to organize community activities.

Community structure is more apparent in the older settlement than in the newer one. Shortly after the settlement was formed, a local "Committee for Community Progress" campaigned for utilities. Though this group is now dormant, the settlement has at least the forms of organization present, with elected officials and a charter.

Moreover, the barrio fields a very good soccer team which routinely wins all its games. The fame of the team in the area is such that several men who live in the adjacent, more prestigious residential community even play soccer for the squatter settlement team. We have never heard these players refer to the poverty of the settlement. Rather, all are proud to be on a winning team. A major community effort was expended in the barrio to raise money to buy uniforms which are now worn at all the games. Such signs constitute sure indications of a growing barrio identity and permanence.

Squatter settlements in the San José area generally have increased in the last few years, and although they are still rare, they seem to form one effective alternative solution to the housing shortage in San José.

Rural Communities

Although the rural villages from which we drew 3.5 percent of our subjects are agriculturally based, they are only 40 minutes from downtown San José by bus. They enjoy the complement of governmental services common to other rural areas: the rural police guard and a school. Other institutions present in the communities include community center buildings, branches of Alcoholics Anonymous, and, in one village, a small library. Every village has also a church, though

these vary in maintenance and quality. Priests generally visit these rural villages on a monthly basis.

These places are enveloped by coffee groves. Their houses vary in construction and include old wattle and daub or adobe plantation types, newer wooden structures common throughout the central plateau, and modern concrete-block structures.

Many families have members who commute daily on buses to San José for work.

The range of commerce in the villages is very limited, with only a small bar or two and a couple of small groceries in evidence. For most shopping the residents go to San José.

As in the other barrios and towns previously described, soccer is popular. Rustic soccer fields are everywhere, and there are usually groups of boys engaged in informal games upon them. Social life in these places is tranquil and relatively quiet. In the evenings people are frequently seen walking in family or age-mate groups along the narrow paved roadways traversing the settlements.

Despite the fact that San José comprises a metropolitan area of over 500,000 persons, with a diverse array of commercial, industrial, and residential areas, it has an amazingly intimate character. One can pass quickly from one type of neighborhood to another totally different, yet, through the city, one constantly meets acquaintances in casual street encounters. The central focus of the transportation system facilitates this and contributes to the "personal" rather than the anonymous nature of San José life. One can easily reach the farthest of our neighborhood types in but a half an hour from the center of the city.

The relationship of the government with the residents of a squatter settlement is vital if services are to be obtained, and if de facto official recognition of the usurpation of the land is to be obtained. One resident summarized community thoughts about the government and the future of the settlement:

I like the people and the atmosphere in the barrio. It has to change though, put in a road--something the government has to do. When we built there, they told us that we couldn't because it belonged to the government and that any time some tractor would come and knock down all the houses. They couldn't because there were so many children there in the barrio, and since then there hasn't been any trouble. It was just a threat. I think that the government can't do anything because we are children of the country and we have a right to the little piece of land that belongs to us.

The government is no longer threatening the existence of these areas. Rather, the welfare agency has begun studies to develop a program to give low-cost housing to the residents of the newer settlement, conspicuously located alongside a main, heavily trafficked highway.

Squatter housing is ramshackle. Loose boards and pieces of tin roofing gleaned from construction sites are put together in residences of conglomerate appearance. The older homes have room divisions more elaborately appointed with pasteboard walls paneling the insides and decorations featuring magazine cutouts, plastic flowers, and religious ornamentation. Some of the most makeshift dwellings are made of cardboard and will probably not last out the eight-month San José rainy season.

Water is crucial in squatter settlement life. Public spigots and places where water is collected from drains are thus key meeting places for the residents. Buckets in hand, the people come up for their share of water several times daily.

Status Characteristics of Subject Population

The preceding description of San José, particularly its diverse residential zones, provides the environmental context for the following discussion of our subject population's status characteristics. The characteristics elaborated here are dwelling area within the city, housing type within the dwelling area, and occupational type. This profile of status characteristics is presented to help establish the working-class nature of our subject population. This categorical description of the population is given behavioral, relational meaning in Chapters III and IV, which focus on the social dynamics of this working-class world and cannabis's role in it.

Dwelling Area and Housing Type

According to Warner (1960, p. 141), most cities and towns may be divided into several ecological areas perceived as having unequal prestige and value, both socially and economically. As illustrated in Table 2, summarizing the residential distribution of our subjects, most of these men came from such a socially defined area in San José, the stable contiguous zone which is clearly a working-class dwelling area. Characterized by homogeneous working-class housing of modest, single-story, wood construction and by an abundance of working-class cottage industries and trades, this area is the home of working-class residents and is generally perceived as being a residential area suited only to people of that class.

Many of the remaining subjects live in residential areas not fitting such a neat characterization of social class. Two of these areas, the satellite towns and peripheral transitional barrios, are

Table 3

Distribution of Subjects According to Neighborhood Type

	Matched Pair Subsample						Base Sample					
	Users		Non-users		Total	%	Users		Users		Total	%
	No.	%	No.	%			No.	%	No.	%		
Central	9	22.0	3	7.3	12	14.6	15	17.9	16	10.3	31	12.6
Stable residential, contiguous to central city	17	41.5	18	43.9	35	42.7	33	39.3	57	36.5	90	37.5
Stable residential, government housing projects	2	4.9	1	2.4	3	3.7	6	7.1	4	2.6	10	4.1
Satellite towns	2	4.9	4	9.8	6	7.3	11	13.1	27	17.3	38	15.8
Peripheral transitional	9	22.0	3	7.3	12	14.6	13	15.5	14	9.0	27	11.3
Squatter settlements	2	4.9	6	14.6	8	9.8	4	4.8	12	7.7	16	6.7
Rural communities	0	0	1	2.4	1	1.2	0	0	9	5.8	9	3.8
Provincial cities and towns outside SJMA*	0	0	5	12.2	5	6.1	0	0	13	8.3	13	5.4
Unknown	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2.4	4	2.6	6	2.5
Totals	41	100.2	41	99.9	82	100	43	100.1	115	100.1	240	100

*SJMA: San José metropolitan area.

mixed in socioeconomic terms, having working-class residences interspersed among new, costly housing recently built for San José professionals and wealthy foreigners. The satellite town where the university is located is characterized by such residential mixing. In this town, as in other satellite towns and peripheral transitional neighborhoods, there are solid working-class enclaves, resembling in configuration the working-class stable contiguous neighborhoods described above. Subjects from the satellite towns and peripheral, transitional barrios dwell in these working-class enclaves.

Other subjects live in the residentially mixed central barrios. Although these areas are generally working-class and commercial, one finds a few elegant old homes, remnants of the days when the elite lived in the central city, and modern high-rise apartment buildings providing expensive and prestigious housing. Our subjects from these areas do not enjoy the amenities of the latter; rather, they live either in a single-story wood house, a single room rented in one of these abodes, or in one of the ubiquitous "hotels" which are cheap, dirty, and service all manner of commerce. For the most part, subjects from these areas reside in the first type of housing, often used for the small family business as well as the family residence.

This description of our subjects in terms of working-class residential zones is complemented by the results of a housing survey administered to all the subjects in the final sample. The data used in this survey parallel criteria employed by Warner (1960, pp. 143-150) for the purpose of demonstrating stratification boundaries. The data presented in Table 3 present a profile suggesting the homogeneous

Table 3
Housing Profile of Final Sample

Feature	Prevalence*	
	Number	Percent
<u>Abode</u>		
House	56	70.9
Apartment	8	13.9
Room	11	10.1
Squatter hut	4	5.1
<u>Terms of Occupancy</u>		
Own	22	27.8
Rent	44	55.8
Borrow	8	10.1
Squat	5	6.3
<u>Floors</u>		
Wood	57	72.1
Cement	10	12.7
Tile	10	12.7
Trampled earth	2	2.5
<u>Roof</u>		
Zinc	67	84.8
Ricalit	2	2.5
Concrete	1	1.3
Wood	8	10.1
Not applicable	1	1.3
<u>Windows</u>		
Glass windows and grates	11	13.9
Glass	49	62.0
Wood shutters	15	19.0
None	4	5.1
<u>Kitchen</u>		
Electric stove	49	64.5
Gas stove	6	7.9
Charcoal stove	11	14.5
Camp stove	6	7.9
None	4	5.2
<u>Walls</u>		
Block	4	5.1
Block and wood	8	10.3
Wood	66	84.6

Table 3--(continued)

Feature	Prevalence*	
	Number	Percent
<u>Shower</u>		
Present	75	94.9
Absent	4	5.1
<u>Toilet</u>		
Present	74	93.7
Absent	5	6.3
<u>Running Water</u>		
Present	74	93.7
Absent	5	6.3
<u>Electricity</u>		
Present	72	91.1
Absent	2	8.9

*Although most percentage figures are based on the total matched sample of 41 users and 41 non-users, some are based on different totals because of a small amount of non-reporting.

nature of our subjects' housing which fits the general pattern of working-class Costa Ricans. Particularly notable is the sound construction of the housing, which provides, humble, but adequate shelter in the mild San José climate.

Residential pressure on the subjects is taking the form of increased rent and increased need for doubling up among families within the extended kindred. While structures are sound, increased crowding may render the housing less liveable.

Occupational Type

Table 4 presents the profile of occupations represented in the original sample of 240 from which the final matched sample of 41 pairs was drawn. The most numerous category is that of artisan, including a varied group of men practicing a number of interchangeable skills. These men are subjected to a capricious work schedule, dependent upon weather, an uncertain demand for services, and a labor market exceeding job opportunities. Some of these artisans work as laborers when higher-paying jobs are not available. Yet, they saw themselves as artisans and classified themselves as such for our study. Only 7 subjects termed themselves laborers per se.

The second largest occupational category represented in the sample consists of jobs related to transportation. This group includes independent truckers running a shipping operation, mechanics, salaried drivers, and independent taxi owner/drivers.

The next largest categories consists of service- and commerce-related jobs. Subjects engaged in the former category of work are part-time workers whose income largely depends on their skill in creating a market

Table 4

Occupational Categories Represented in Original Sample of 240

Category	Subjects		Comments
	Number	Percent	
Professional	0	00.0	
Office	2	00.8	
Commerce	24	10.0	Category includes vendors of food, clothing, or personal articles, workers in cottage industries where auto accessories, furniture, and decorative objects are made and sold.
Agriculture	3	1.3	Category includes those residing and working on small farms near San José.
Transportation	32	13.3	Category includes mechanics and drivers of trucks, taxis, and buses.
Artisan	129	53.8	Category includes shoemakers, tailors, bakers, carpenters, roofers, plasterers, watch repairers, machine repairers, electricians. It is common to be skilled in several areas.
Laborer	6	2.5	Category includes construction workers
Services	29	12.1	Category includes shoeshine men, guards, and caretakers.
Not identifiable	15	6.2	No known means of livelihood.

for their services (e.g., shoeshine boys and guards for parked cars must persuade clients that their services are needed).

Those in commerce conduct business on a small scale, many locating their businesses and cottage industries in their residences. Generally, their business transactions are limited to working-class clientele and take place in working-class neighborhoods or common centers such as the market, bus stops, or downtown commercial areas.

Subjects in agriculture also are engaged in small-scale operations. For the most part, they work on farms on the outskirts of San José.

The occupational endeavors of the subjects underscore the working-class nature of the study population, for their occupations are clearly working class. Middle-class employment was represented by only two office workers in the sample, one a low-level functionary and the other a draftsman. There were no professionals in the sample.

Men whose work was not identifiable were chronically unemployed or unable to work at all. Only two of these men were included in the final sample.

Chapter Summary

In a fashion analogous to Stone's (1975) study, which traced genealogical networks to describe Costa Rica's social and political structure, social networks were identified and traced to gain entry into the working-class world of San José, thereby recruiting a broad geographical and occupational sample of men from that class. The entry into the social networks of these men, the environment where they reside, recreate, and work, and their general status characteristics vis à vis the urban setting have been described.

Exploring the social networks of these men and analyzing associated relational systems provided insight into the dynamics of working-class life and the role of cannabis in its social processes. This analysis of working-class life is the focus of the next two chapters, the first highlighting the socialization of our subjects and the second emphasizing their adult social world.

CHAPTER III

THE SUBJECTS AS CHILDREN: FAMILY, STREET, AND SCHOOL

This chapter focuses on early life-history experiences of the 82 working-class subjects in order to present a general profile of working-class family and to illustrate two distinct patterns of socialization within this framework, one pattern generally associated with the users of cannabis and the other with the non-users. The description of differential family dynamics associated with the two patterns suggests that cannabis use is related to fundamental social processes antedating the onset of drug use and may be regarded as a normal behavioral option for some in the working class.

The discussion centers on the institutional membership, or relations of real interconnectedness (Warner, 1960), of the subjects in their formative years, with special emphasis given to the relational systems of family, education, and informal peer groups. In this analysis, the socialization process is viewed as the replication of societal forms in terms of choices made within a field of interpersonal relationships (Kimball and McClellan, 1966; Moore, 1973; Partridge, 1974). Incentives and restrictions stemming from this relational field canalize choice for each generation, and, in this chapter, early socialization experiences of the subjects are examined to show this process. The social conditions presented suggest that the decision to use cannabis is correlated with the nature of interpersonal

relationships found in early childhood and adolescence. A complex of behavior, including marihuana use, is learned through these social settings.

The discussion begins with a description of the subjects' family of orientation which presents a general profile of working-class family behavior. In broad outline, the users and non-users were similar with regard to the family of orientation. The structure of family for the two groups showed no major differences, though there is evidence that the subjects' experience with the family was different in each of the groups. The latter is discussed in terms of differential family dynamics related to early home abandonment and the closely associated habit of cannabis use.

This description of the relational system of family is followed by an analysis of early experiences with formal institutions of schooling and with informal peer groupings. As in the case of family interaction, the early influences of peer, authorities, and institutions were remembered by the subjects and formed part of the corpus of knowledge, sensibility, and motivation which guides their adult lives.

This relational analysis of early life experiences is central to an understanding of cannabis's role in working-class society. The perspective gained by such an examination is vital since the customary behavior of drug consumption is begun as an outgrowth of these early experiences.

Behaviors are learned, as a child, to permit participation in the social system of youth, with family, schooling, and informal peer association forming the basic subsystems. Different role attributes are associated with the different subsystems and the manner in

which different individuals develop appropriate sets of behavior to cope with personal contexts creates a great range of sociocultural variations around the "norm."

Family of Orientation of Working-Class Subjects

The most important institution for the child is his family of orientation. In the case of the men discussed here, its importance is suggested by their detailed accounts of family life, revealing their propensity to retain elaborate memories about this part of their youth.

As suggested in Chapter II, the Costa Rican working-class family has largely grown out of a rural background of small, independent holdings relatively isolated from one another and exploited by nuclear families. The parental stability in such households, the interaction patterns basically with extended kin, and the reluctance to develop strong ties merely on the basis of geographical propinquity are features functionally geared to such a way of life.

In such a system, intergenerational continuity is assured through socialization of the young into the corporate nature of the family farm through intensive interaction with kin. As roles and statuses learned in the family canalize choice about the economic and social future, so too is ownership of the property passed down the line. Yet, Costa Rica is urbanizing today, and families interviewed report that they perceived greater opportunity in the city, leading to their decision to migrate.

The urban family pattern seems to parallel that described by Lewis (1965b) when he addressed himself to the effect of urbanization

on lower-class family life. In general, he found patterns in the city to be very similar to those in the small town, except for a slightly higher percentage of extended families living together in the city. As in small towns, the urban families remained strong and cohesive and continued to show extended-family solidarity in times of crisis and emergency.

Given such a traditional family structure, the working-class male is free to choose employment where it is most to his advantage, depending upon a capricious labor market. A solid conjugal relationship acts as the core of a stable family unit that leaves him free to wander as he desires. At the same time, frequent contact with the closest members of his bilateral kindred provides him with insurance against the ravages of unemployment, illness, or other such calamities. His tenuous ties with neighbors leave him great latitude for the development of associational networks built around interests that have particular appeal to him and that crosscut the city, e.g., work, sports, drug use, and other recreation. Furthermore the general stability of mother-father and parent-child relationships provides lasting points of reference in the midst of rapid change.

This reliance upon developed extended-family relationships, the shared family-structure patterns of our subjects, and the common rural roots of many of the families generally provides the organization and values for coping with life in the city. However, as Lewis (1959, 1961, and 1965b) has made abundantly clear, the actual success of a particular family in coping varies markedly according to specific circumstance. Where families provide the individual fewer economic or social

resources, the alternative is not breakdown or disorganization, but the cultivation of other sets of relationships, usually informal relational groupings of age mates or older youths. This alternative relational system, marked by a commonality of experience which is both supportive and educational, emerges as a contrastive experience to the family. The dynamics of this informal relational system are discussed following the description of family.

As described by the subjects, the relational structure of the typical family of orientation had about five members, including both parents, two or three children, and occasionally a bilateral relative. The range, however, was wide, with some households as small as one and others as large as 16. Dramatic differences were usually accounted for by the amount of family clustering which, in turn, was attributed to economic constraints and pressures. To lower rent for a short time or extended periods, families grafted onto each other, doubling up on space and halving costs. Typically a sibling of the husband or wife lived in "temporarily" until he or she was able to make an independent break. Also an aging parent might pass his or her last years as a member of the household.

A subject describes a cramped living arrangement necessitated by limited funds:

My woman's father has always lived with us. He used to work unloading trucks, but he has given that up now. He's too old. We live in a house with twelve of her relatives. The two of us and her two children, plus the twelve of them. There are brothers, sisters, aunts, and uncles. What an army! And the rest of the relatives live across the street in a little two-story house. We get along all right, but everyone has their little peeves. We yell at one another from time to time, but we get along. We have to.

Overwhelmingly, the biological parents were the significant adults in the informants' childhood.

Table 5

Predominant Adults

	Subjects (N=82)	
	Number	Percent
Father alone	5	6.1
Mother alone	17	20.7
Both parents	51	62.3
Other	9	10.9

In most cases both biological parents were present during the childhood period. While there was no doubt that both biological parents predominantly fulfilled their social roles as the child's most important adults, in a number of cases, single-parent households were headed by the mother. In fewer cases were the households headed by the father.

In those cases which did not fit the general pattern, the relational structure of a nuclear family was maintained by the introduction of surrogate parents. Thus, grandmothers or aunts and uncles would fill in the breach. There was no clear tendency for such individuals to be either patrilineally or matrilineally related. The overwhelming pattern was one of bilateralism. Thus, some subjects could, with elaborated bilateral kindreds, survive even catastrophes of the nuclear family. For others without this flexibility, the consequences were more disruptive. Where intensive contacts led out of the family, choice among alternative behavior styles was widened.

One subject related an arrangement with a paternal aunt:

My father never lived at home. Finally things got so bad that my aunt took me home with her. I never saw my father, and I loved my aunt more than my mother. I was happy

with her. She gave me food and clothing. My older brothers and sisters sometimes slept with us in the house or went with another aunt. I stayed there until I got married when I was 18. My own family had disappeared. They were all over the country.

When men had, as children, been treated decently under such arrangements, they reacted positively to them.

Although, as already noted, the majority of parental bonds were stable, a considerable minority, about 30 percent, were dissolved before the subject reached the age of 12. Dissolution of the family was usually precipitated by the death of a parent and accompanied by an unsuccessful economic adjustment. Often children were divided up among relatives, but some ran away, and no family structure remained whatsoever. Normally, structure could be maintained with surrogates in parental roles, or with a single parent household. As family interactive styles disintegrated, other relational alternatives became imperative, constituting another adaptive strategy for working-class youth.

Table 6

End of Parental Relationship During Socialization

	Subjects (N=82)	
	Number	Percent
Separation/divorce	17	20.7
Death	13	15.9
Never together	8	9.7
Did not end	44	53.7

In contrast with the pattern reported for much of Latin America, bonds of fictive kinship, godparents, and compadrazgo seem little

elaborated among members of Costa Rica's working class. Where contact was maintained with a godparent, little more than a social greeting was exchanged; there was none of the important gift-giving and assistance normally associated with the institution.

Table 7
Contact with Godparents

	Subjects (N=82)	
	Number	Percent
Annual contact	23	28.0
Less than annual	28	34.1
No contact	29	35.4
Not applicable	2	2.5

One subject reported a typical relationship with a godparent:

I got stuck with a poor godfather. He never helped me. I can't remember a single gift from him. My parents had to baptize me; I was one and almost walking, so this man offered to be the padrino (godfather). They accepted to speed things up, and so I was baptized. But he never did anything for me.

Many subjects could not remember ever having met their godparents, and in many cases, the men did not even know who they were. Some acknowledged that their relatives in the country were much more active in keeping the ties of ritual kinship alive. In the city, however, neither godparenthood nor compadrazgo seem important to the working class either as a religious sacrament or as a set of social relationships. This failure to elaborate the institutions of co-parenthood denies the working-class residents one important type of social resource.

Baptism as a sacrament is itself a simple affair, with little elaboration of ritual to reinforce social ties. One fieldworker served as godfather for an informant's son and related the baptism:

Pedro was one of eight who were being baptized. Three photographers were present selling their services to record the event. They took over as ritual directors, telling all where to stand and what to do: the godparents with the baby behind the altar rail and the biological parents in the pews. The service was brief, as the priest worked his way down the row anointing and baptizing each baby. During the service, the photographers took pictures of each baby. At the conclusion of the service the biological parents joined the godparents and filed to the parish office where certificates were signed and fees paid. The entourage for each baby consisted only of the godparents and biological parents; no additional friends or relatives were present. After leaving the parish office, the fieldworker and Pedro's parents returned to their home where a sweet wine and crackers with tuna were served. As the couple lived with the wife's mother, her mother was present, but no other relatives had come. After half an hour of conversation, the event was over, and the fieldworker departed.

The event did not change the relationship between the godparents and Pedro's parents; no new kin term of compadre was used.

Interactions within the family of orientation, however, were highly developed. Interaction with both sides of the extended kindred was elaborate, with visits even on a daily schedule among kinsmen. Often these individuals lived in the same block or neighborhood so that it was not difficult to maintain close contact. Propinquity with relatives was a highly valued residential goal which one still sees in the manner in which kinsmen tend to cluster in barrio neighborhoods. Thus, one subject mentioned that his brother had gone "away" to live on the other side of town, but returned to the neighborhood because it was too difficult to keep in touch with his kin.

In spite of such propinquity, many informants insisted that they were reluctant to depend upon relatives for help, and in fact claimed

never to do so. At the same time, many of these cases revealed significant help and exchange among relatives. One man told a story of family hostility and absence of any help whatsoever, and yet later explained how an aunt had generously given his family the lifetime free use of a small farm. The ambivalence seemed due to the informant's own insecurity and inability to contribute to the family because of his being perpetually unemployed and alcoholic.

Moving from house to house was common for the majority, although 36 percent of the subjects did not move once in their entire childhood. Sixty-three percent of the subjects moved less than once every year. These moves were necessary because of job changes, doubling up on housing, or an economic pinch or windfall. Moves were part of the adaptive strategy of the working class for maximizing resources.

The customary behavior of these families of orientation centered upon the home. Rented or owned, the house became home base for the working man who returned for dinner, as well as for children returning from school with their school uniforms soiled from the day's scuffles and games. The home's anchor was seen as a hardworking mother. She lost her attractiveness quickly, giving birth, washing, cleaning, tending babies and aging parents, and dealing with swarms of neighborhood children.

For the female spouse, more than for any other member of the family, the residential barrio was the main social horizon. Neighborhood shops and services were all within a block of the house, so she did not need to walk far to shop, have shoes mended, or have a school uniform repaired. While often sending a young child to run these errands

so as not to leave a baby alone, she liked to get out of the house, even for simple tasks. An infrequent trip downtown to pay the electric bill was a trek, and even standing in line at the bank for up to an hour was splendid, as an honorable and proper way of watching people, eavesdropping for news, and breaking the routine.

We heard many accounts of these journeys. They provided opportunities for our subjects as young boys to learn about the shape of the city and an adult world of commerce and responsibility. A special treat of ice cream sealed the impression of high adventure. Bit by bit, parents, as the child's most important adults, guided the child's ventures out from the barrio as he formed an impression of what was possible for him in the city. The structure of the lessons took shape from the relationships and activities of childhood. The view of the whole was abstracted from the evaluation put upon the specific experiences as a youngster, as defined by kin, peers, and authorities.

Most informants expressed general satisfaction with their childhood homes and life. Usually this was stated in modest terms:

My life, my childhood, wasn't opulent, but it wasn't impoverished either. We stayed on top because my father worked and my mother rented out little houses, and we were able to defend ourselves. Not really comfortable, believe me, but we weren't desperate either.

Table 8

Satisfaction with Childhood

	Subjects (N=82)	
	Number	Percent
Positive	42	51.2
Negative	26	21.7
Neutral	14	17.1

The large number of subjects claiming unsatisfactory childhood suggests that there is a variant upon the general theme of working-class family life thus far developed. Subjects expressing such dissatisfaction usually looked elsewhere for primary social contacts, particularly among age mates and older youth; this behavior will be discussed later in this chapter.

Several conditions contributing to this lack of satisfaction have been suggested in the preceding discussion of family life and will be elaborated later. Particularly notable is the fact that 38 subjects reported the dissolution of their parents' relationship during the subjects' early years, often creating serious adjustment problems for the children.

Yet, for the majority the childhood experience in the home was pleasant, characterized by relational patterns seen as supportive and rewarding rather than rancorous or frustrating. One informant described how roles were positively defined in his family so as to minimize family discord. His experience reflects the general pattern of domestic relationships reported for the respondents' families.

We never had fights in the house. No one was mean like that. Yelling and fighting, never. I was the oldest and set the example and corrected my brothers and sisters, and they respected me. They could be playing, and one word from me was an order. My mother told them that they had to respect their older brother and do what I said.

Parents generally got along amiably. One user conveyed the ambience of parental collaboration.

My parents got along always. There was complete coordination between them. My father never punished me. He gave me advice, said, "Don't do that, do this." He had me say an Our Father when I was bad, nothing more. My mother was another story. She used an electric wire which really stung. But thank

God for them, because they were right and if it hadn't been for them I might be like some of the men in the barrio who drink and beat their wives. My father always told me never to spend a lot of time in bars, and I didn't. A father's advice is important because he has a lot more experience and can tell you what to do.

Very few remembered relationships which were predominantly hostile. In the few cases reported, bitter fights typified normal interactions between parents. Not surprisingly, such relationships usually ended.

Table 9
Relationship Between Parents

	Subjects (N=82)	
	Number	Percent
Amiable	35	42.7
Hostile	8	9.6
Variable	19	23.2
Not applicable	20	24.5

When parents argued, it was usually over the father's drinking or a shortage of money, although such arguments did not lead to either less drinking or more money. Generally no particular parent inevitably won. Some subjects referred humorously to a "tie score" between parents, one scoring a "goal" one time, the other scoring on another occasion. In a few families, arguments led to actual fighting and blows.

Most subjects know very little about their parents' courtship and marriage, a fact which points out the absence of family history

and lore among working-class families. They seemed surprised at the suggestion that they talk about it, and some responded, "It never occurred to me to ask." In the few cases where answers were forthcoming, it appears that the parents had known each other for several months to a year before becoming engaged, and that the engagement had lasted for several months before marriage. In a few cases, engagements had lasted for years. Stable common-law arrangements were accepted by their offspring as being of equal status with formal church marriages.

The general sense of satisfaction with childhood was based on many experiences. Men who felt that, as children, they had been treated fairly, had had enough to eat, had related to their parents, siblings, and relatives in a rewarding way, had had opportunities to play with friends, and had enjoyed the opportunity to go to school, expressed contentment in the interviews when reflecting on their early years. Men who were dissatisfied with their childhood came from families that were not economically solvent, where there were absent parents, high alcohol use by the father, fights among family members, or inconsistent and capricious treatment as children.

Mothers were generally seen as sympathetic figures, mediating between stern fathers and obstreperous peers. Costa Rican motherhood is celebrated in an elaborate Mother's Day on August 15, a national holiday coinciding with the popular Latin American celebration of the feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin. Mothers are feted, sung about, and revered, but they work hard for their rewards.

For the families in which our subjects grew up, daily routines began early. When the sun rose at 5:00 a.m., it was already late in

the homes of working-class families. Mothers had to get their spouses to work in buses, which started running at five, and children off to school, which began at seven.

Subjects' fathers felt that good wives and mothers should not stray far from home. Trips downtown should be kept to a minimum, and to be seen loitering in the street was considered unseemly. Mothers sent small children on errands around the neighborhood, but accompanied their daughters on longer journeys in the city. A man whose wife and children strayed from home was seen as not exerting enough control or authority.

As shown in the following table, fathers tended to work full time in stable jobs.

Table 10
Father's Work

	Subjects (N=82)	
	Number	Percent
Full time*	57	69.5
Stable jobs*	48	58.5

*Categories not mutually exclusive.

Those fathers who did not fit this pattern worked part time or not at all, had unstable jobs, or were absent from the family altogether.

Accounts of the nature, quality, and success of the father's work were a good predictor for the quality of family life. Not surprisingly, fathers could fulfill their family obligations only if their personal habits and preparation permitted it. The variety of

work skills they could offer was important in allowing them to take advantage of different job markets. The construction trades were particularly vulnerable during the eight-month rainy season, for workers were laid off at any moment for inclement weather and would lose salary for the lost hours. Variable labor markets continue to be a problem for their sons, who reported to us the problems of finding regular work.

Subjects noted that their fathers, when salaried, were paid on Saturday at mid-day, which is still a feature of working-class work schedules. Inevitably, part was spent immediately on a few drinks with friends, and the balance was rationed out over the week. Although some fathers gave a weekly allowance to their wives, the majority simply gave a daily sum to the spouses every morning for the family's food and household expenses.

Slightly less than half of the subjects' fathers tended to drink heavily. One of the first things these informants mentioned about their fathers was the amount of liquor they consumed. In one informant's words:

All I can remember about my childhood is that my father was an alcoholic. He did incredible things to my mother when he was drunk. That is why I never drink now. I won't give my children this example. He was so different when he didn't drink. He was decent and treated us well. But drunk, just stay out of his way!

When informants complained about going hungry as children, alcohol was often mentioned as the cause. The importance of alcohol as a recreational event continues to be a highly visible aspect of working-class life. Bars abound in the residential neighborhoods and are usually crowded. Social consumption of guaro, or cane liquor, is a ubiquitous feature of the working-class social scene.

As a rule, fathers tended to spend their free time with their peers from work or with friends rather than with their families, a pattern characterizing their sons' adult social world as well. Through control over the family budget, however, they asserted their role as head of household in an authoritarian manner. Subjects often found that their mother ran the house until their father came home, and that then he would take charge. Superior male authority patterns seemed solidly entrenched as operating principles in the home.

More than half of the respondents said that they were not at all spoiled (chineados) as children. They talked about general family poverty as not permitting it. Those who thought that they had been spoiled described special trips downtown for something to eat and gifts of money to go to the movies or to buy candy as proof of special parental treatment. Gifts at Christmas were a sign of notable recognition. Elaborate rewards, such as the one described below, were very unusual:

Once they gave me a bicycle. I had gotten into so much trouble at school that they thought they could get me to behave if they gave me a nice present. After that I got a little more enthused about classes. . . . I kept up with my studies and passed that year. They gave me a new suit of clothes when I passed.

More common were stories of parental punishment. All were punished from time to time. In general, these punishments were perceived as deserved. When not, fathers were thought to be less just than mothers (see Table 11). Some unjust punishments specifically led to the individual's decision to leave home. When this occurred, informants focused on the severity and humiliation of the acts:

My mother punished me hard. When I was little, she put my sister's dress on me so that I wouldn't leave the house. God! I just hated that! I stripped off all my clothes, and

the moment she stopped watching, I grabbed my other clothes and ran away. I liked to wander around the rivers, fishing, and things like that.

Table 11

Parental Punishment

	Subjects (N=82)	
	Number	Percent
More than fair	16	19.5
Fair	46	56.1
Less than fair	17	20.7
Not applicable	3	3.7

These punishments viewed as excessive are correlated with home abandonment, to be discussed later.

Such unfair punishments contribute to an unsatisfactory view of childhood, mentioned earlier. Also contributing to this negative view is the presence of a hostile or unpredictable relationship between parents. The negative impressions were cited by subjects who began to look to their peers for companionship and leadership.

Relations with siblings apparently were highly variable. Often subjects developed a buddy relationship with a brother of nearly the same age. Yet, even in very close families, sibling feuds developed. One young man described how such cleavages could occur:

My brother and I had a contradictory relationship. He got along fine with me, but I couldn't get along with him. He drank and I was little and he scared me. I tried to keep out of his way then, and I still don't have anything to do with him. I had two sisters, one older and one younger. I got along fine with them. We understood each other and lived at home together. My other sisters were older and had left home so I didn't know them very well.

Weekly routines included Sunday Mass, a must for the most pious member of the family--nearly always the mother. In the words of one informant:

My mother was a fanatic about religion, but my father wasn't. He was--how shall I put it?--he was one of those who didn't believe in anything or anybody. He didn't even have an idea of God. It was just the opposite. Exaggerated! The house was full of saints and candles. Every night she was praying to some saint. She'd go to Mass to pray to the saints, then come home and do it again.

As children, the informants tended to go to Mass with their mothers, but rarely became sufficiently involved with the Church to serve as altar boys. Because Mass attendance was generally under maternal pressure, many subjects stopped going regularly during adolescence, thus gradually adopting the adult male pattern common to this segment of Costa Rican society.

In speaking of their present perception of the church and the priesthood, few had anything good to say. Several told stories about priests who were capricious in chastizing them as children, and some claimed that priests had made homosexual advances to them when they were budding adolescents. In no case was a priest described as an admirable role model.

Whatever religious instruction was received in childhood tended to come from the mother or other female figure. Simple prayers were taught and often recited together. Concepts of God as either punitive or supportive were not highly developed. Nor was sexual morality developed extensively in conversations between parents and children. Most parents encouraged their children to participate in catechism classes given in school or church, and thus most were steered through

the sacraments of Baptism and First Communion. Most emphasis was upon decorous behavior in front of neighbors and friends, avoiding scandals, and eschewing gossip.

My parents and my grandmother talked to me about morals and good behavior. They told me that if I saw an older person in the street I was to say "good afternoon" or "good morning" and be very respectful. "Stay out of things that don't concern you," they said. Every night my grandmother and I prayed an Our Father together. They always gave me good advice and were very firm. If I went into the street without permission, they would spank me.

Family ritual cycles are traditionally a way of structuring relationships and reinforcing roles. In Costa Rican working-class homes, however, ritual within the family seems little developed, and the events of Christmas were the only calendrical family ceremonial activity reported. This seems consistent with the absence of elaboration of family history and lore.

Christmas Eve, la noche buena, was fondly remembered as the night when the family gathered to wait for baby Jesus to arrive with gifts. On the vigil, all ate tamales and drank black coffee. The women might drink a heavily sweetened eggnog called ronrope, and the men managed to find something stronger. A creche scene, a portal, had been set up for some weeks with an empty manger, waiting for midnight and a child to place the tiny plastic Jesus doll in his traditional crib. The portal was a menagerie of dolls representing wise men, shepherds, firemen, farmers, salesmen, and the like. They were surrounded by plastic trucks, trees, ornaments, moss, stumps, lights, tinsel, and, for the big night, baskets of grapes and apples--two very expensive imported fruits. The portal remained up until the end of January or the beginning of February, when the neighbors would be

invited in, and all would say a rosary and then drink a mild alcoholic corn brew called chicha just before the dismantling.

These events were the ones described when informants were asked to talk about regular customary behavior in their families' activities. Many noches buenas were more modestly celebrated than that described; lamentably, some households were regularly forgotten by the baby Jesus altogether. Other kinds of family ritual such as birthdays, family dinners, reunions, Sunday treks, and the like were not remembered as regular or even sporadic happenings. We observed that even today, family meal times are austere events, birthdays go by unrecognized, Sundays are marked by every member's independent plans, and, in general, the pale responses to questions about family ritual activity are verified.

Typically, parents did not belong to clubs, sports teams, or community organizations. They might have attended public meetings organized around a problem or project, but they did not tend to affiliate with any organization with a regular schedule of activities, nor did they show any leadership in the barrio by taking initiative on a problem. They generally did not belong to or participate in the church activity guild, the parent-teachers' association, nor did they help the parish in any tangible or organizational way.

Their political actions similarly evinced this passive pattern of formal participation. They voted in the elections every four years (voting is required by law although the law is rarely enforced), but rarely helped any particular party by volunteering their time (see Table 12).

Table 12
Parental Political Activity

	Subjects (N=82)	
	Number	Percent
Work/vote	17	20.7
Vote only	34	41.5
No activity	22	26.9
Not applicable	9	10.9

Seldom did the subjects' parents have trouble with public authorities; only four parents (10 percent) of non-users and seven (17 percent) of users were reported to have had such problems. These difficulties were usually related to public inebriation.

The pattern which emerges is that of a general reluctance to get involved in affairs which might cause complications. This general stance of non-involvement is continued into the present generation of subjects who tend to see risk in public exposure or commitment. Noteworthy in this regard is that subjects did not describe cordial relationships between their families of orientation and their neighbors. Rather, the following type of situation was characteristic:

My family wasn't well thought of in the barrio. We were not much involved in things, politics, for example. The neighbors nearest us hated the way my parents voted and made it rough on them. There were arguments, and my parents decided it was better not to have anything to do with them. They didn't like having friendships in the neighborhood. They preferred enemies.

A value emphasized time and again by parents was that one should try to live tranquilly (vivir tranquilo). This would imply that one should exercise caution.

The child was constantly tugged between this introverted family of orientation and the natural attractions of peers he met at school and in the street. Family demands came early:

I worked as a kid collecting fares in the buses. I put in half a day in that and went home and played and studied. I was going to school at night so I did my homework whenever I had some free time. Sometimes I made furniture which I sold. I was about 12 then.

Many remembered working extensively with family members on business deals or jobs. Family economic crises, such as the death of the father, often made the son, in large part, responsible for the economic fate of his family when other family resources were not available. Less urgent, but common, economic endeavors involved the selling of tidbits of food cooked by an older sister or the mother, working with a brother gathering coffee or cutting weeds, selling gum or candy, shining shoes, or carrying bundles home for shoppers. Earnings from such work went into the family coffers. Children who participated actively in the family economic endeavors tended to maintain close relationships with members of their family of orientation throughout their adulthood.

One subject relates how he had to begin working at the age of ten:

I had to work full time at the age of ten. I was the man of the family. My father was run over by his cart which he had used to transport large cans of milk, and he died. I was the oldest. My mother and brothers and sisters counted on me. I started by carrying packages at the market, then I got a job as an errand boy. I tried construction, selling in the street, everything. Finally, I went to the banana zone where I made good money working in a restaurant. I was able to send money home. Since I was ten, I've never stopped working.

This man had to start work younger than the average age of twelve for the sample, a fact precipitated by family tragedy. Yet, all subjects worked in their youth.

On reaching adolescence, it was common for the individual to work at a job and bring his earnings home. The jobs were usually ruggedly physical; lack of preparation made it difficult for the individual to find other types of work. Father-son partnerships in business or trade were not common. While many subjects learned their father's trade, they have not been bound by it, and the two rarely collaborated in a project. Cottage industries such as shoemaking and tailoring are seen to have dropped in profitability because of mechanization, and therefore both fathers and sons have had increasingly to learn a number of skills in order to make a living.

Families seemed to show general economic stability in the subjects' period of childhood. In the majority of cases, there was neither upward nor downward mobility. Those who did tell of family decline attributed the problem to the father's inability to work, caused by injury, alcoholism, or laziness. This was usually accompanied by an abundance of children who lessened the mother's alternatives, with the end effect being a marked decline in the standard of living. Family groups located in the ramshackle housing in the riverine neighborhoods were often in temporary or semi-permanent decline, and as a result, could afford to live only in these least desirable locations.

The success of the family in managing these financial and social adaptations naturally determines the resources and attention which are available to the young children. As factors which are correlated with successful family adjustment, they are very important.

This profile of working-class family life underscores overall patterns of similarity found in the subject population. This common

pattern of family centered upon biological parents, siblings, and other relatives who formed a vibrant kindred with a high level of interaction and interdependence. While the style and form of family interaction seem rooted in rural, agrarian patterns, the families, in most cases, migrated to the city, where new alternatives and pressures are found.

Although this profile may be said to be typical, many of the subjects' families did not conform to it. Some lived in exceedingly crowded homes--with as many as 16 family members. Thirty percent of the subjects suffered the dissolution of the parental bond before they were 12. Many suffered capricious punishment and found little solace at home. Over a quarter found the childhood experience unpleasant due to interpersonal tension, economic deprivation, or other hardships.

This divergence from the general profile reflects different degrees of adaptation to a range of social and economic problems confronting the working class. Oscar Lewis (1961 and 1965a) describes differing individual and family abilities to respond to poverty far more grinding than that faced by the San José working class. What is clear is that the families represent different degrees of success in coping with working-class problems. To be relatively successful, one needs a viable family, dependable means of livelihood, and an atmosphere of cooperation. The vicissitudes of working-class life are particularly difficult for the social isolate.

Those less successful in coping with the complex of social and economic problems are often members of families withered by death, dissolution, rancor, or perilous economic existence. Positive social

interactions within the family of such individuals are less frequent, and family personnel find other contacts: the father drinks with friends, the mother returns to her own kin, and their children find their way in the street. This latter adaptation is still typically a working-class pattern.

Two broad categories of working-class families emerged from the analysis of the subjects' family materials; each category represents a variant of the overall pattern elaborated earlier. What interests the social scientist are the behaviors associated with each category, particularly the rational responses of the individual actors to the complex of circumstances facing them.

From this perspective the issue of cannabis use is examined. It is asserted here that drug use can only be understood when the particular social circumstances associated with its use are specified. With regard to the subject population, these conditions seem to be associated with the second adaptive mode of working-class families, those characterized by rancor, dissolution, and precarious economic existence. While a number of significant differences between the users and non-users of cannabis suggest this conclusion, one phenomenon, home abandonment, subsumes the others, making it a logical point of departure for this discussion of cannabis use and socialization experiences.

Family Dynamics, Home Abandonment, and Cannabis Use

Initial analysis of the life-history materials revealed the finding that 25 of the users and only 5 of the non-users abandoned home before the age of 16.

Table 13
Age of Home Abandonment

	Users (N=41)	Non-Users (N=41)
6	2	-
7	1	-
8	1	-
9	1	-
10	2	1
11	-	-
12	3	1
13	5	-
14	2	-
15	4	2
16	4	1
Totals	25	5

This striking difference between the future users and non-users suggests that although there was a basically similar pattern in form and character of family of orientation, the content and the processes of the experiences centered there must have been quite different. The underlying current of dissatisfaction with childhood previously described takes its concrete form as the young boy seeks alternatives to the disarray of home life, notably in the street among age mates and older youths.

Subjects who abandoned home made several observations about the particular nature of their early experiences, suggesting correlation

between negative feelings, home abandonment, and subsequent cannabis use. Together, these observations present a profile of domestic pressures which seem to be associated with the decision to opt for opportunities outside the home and to initiate cannabis use.

Two brothers abandoned home together. The circumstances leading to their decision stemmed from multiple pressures at home. One of the brothers recounted:

My father made good money selling ice cream, but he never gave any to us. We had to earn what we needed to eat. Our mother died when we were infants. He had a lot of women around, but none of them treated us well. Then he made us work on his little farm near San José and wouldn't pay us. He beat us up when we complained. We were just ten and thirteen years old, but we couldn't take it any more. We left and found a little shack to live in. We were hungry and cold, but it was better than being at home. We started running around with some other street kids, and they taught us how to smoke marihuana.

These youngsters had lived in the city and were able to turn to peers who were also independent of family.

It became apparent in the interviews that the migration histories of the users and non-users differed. Mothers and fathers of both users and non-users came in equal proportions from rural zones, provincial towns, and the San José area. These origins are significant because they suggest that many respondents have access to a geographically dispersed kinship network which may be a resource in time of need. However, migration patterns reveal that in spite of this similarity in family background, users and non-users had to begin coping with city life at different points in their life cycles. Thus, behavior alternatives as embedded in different urban social groupings--i.e., street gangs of peers--became a possibility for the users and non-users at different times.

Table 14 reflects the urban development which has occurred in Costa Rica over the past generation. The data specify the percentages of the subjects falling into three levels of sociocultural integration: rural zones, provincial towns, and San José. Three time periods are defined: T1--place of origin of parents; T2--place where subjects spent their childhood; T3--place of respondents' current residence.

The time of greatest migration to the city for the future users' families, 44 percent, turns out to be between T1 and T2, that is, before full entry into childhood. The parents came to the city when the subject was a baby or before he was born. Therefore, he passed his early years in the city. For the non-users, the time of greatest migration to the city was later, 37 percent, between T2 and T3. Therefore, there was a tendency for the non-users not to arrive in the city until after their childhood had passed. An important feature of being in the city as a young boy was that it afforded the opportunity to participate in the street culture of groupings composed generally of peers, but led by older youths and including also younger neophytes. In assessing these data, one must keep in mind the overall difference in sociocultural interaction patterns learned in urban and rural contexts.

Generally, therefore, future users spent their childhood in the city where they often found their families coping only marginally with the pressures of city life. One indication of severe family economic problems is the inadequacy of food during childhood, as seen in Table 15. Another indication of economic problems in the families of future users is their inadequate housing (Table 16). Both of these conditions

Table 14
Subjects' Migration Patterns
(N = 41 future users and 41 non-users)

	T1	T2	T3	Net T1-T2	Net T2-T3	Net T1-T3
	%					
Rural users	30	20	0	-10	-20	-30
Provincial-town users	30	7	12	-23	+5	-18
San José users	29	73	88	+44	+15	+59
Unknown/NA users	11					
Totals	100	100	100			
Rural non-users	38	34	2	-4	-32	-36
Provincial-town non-users	24	14	12	-7	-5	-12
San José non-users	30	49	86	+19	+37	+56
Unknown/NA non-users	8					
Totals	100	100	100			

Table 15
Adequacy of Food in Childhood

	Future Users (N=41)		Non-users (N=41)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Less than adequate	18	43.9	8	19.5
Adequate	23	56.1	33	80.5

χ^2 is 5.63; significant at the .02 level.

indicate the future users' inadequate physical environment, characterized by hunger and poor, cramped housing.

Table 16
Adequacy of Housing in Childhood

	Future Users (N=41)		Non-Users (N=41)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Less than adequate	16	39.0	8	19.5
Adequate	25	61.0	33	80.5

χ^2 is 3.77; significant at the .06 level.

Another suggestion of these families' marginal adjustment is found in the employment of mothers to help support the family. A marked degree of difference is noted between future users and non-users in this regard.

Table 17
Mothers Work During Childhood

	Future Users (N=41)		Non-Users (N=41)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Mothers worked	26	63.4	18	43.9
Mothers did not work	10	24.4	21	51.2
Not applicable/unknown	5	12.2	2	4.9

χ^2 is 6.06; significant at the .02 level.

The data suggest that mothers in the families of future users had to assume more financial responsibility and family leadership than the non-users' mothers. Fathers in the future users' families shared or delegated responsibility for financial management to their spouses

more than did the fathers of non-users. In the future users' homes, the mother's income was important for preserving the financial viability of the family.

In this regard, a pattern of female leadership and dominance in the home characterized the home of future users. Related to this pattern is the finding that the future users tended to have more older sisters than the non-users ($t=1.36$), thus creating a situation where future users tended to grow up in homes dominated by females. The following table reflects the difference between the families of future users and non-users with respect to female control in financial matters.

Table 18
Finances Within Family of Childhood

	Future Users (N=41)		Non-Users (N=41)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Father controlled	16	39.0	22	53.6
Mother controlled or shared with father	23	59.1	14	34.1
Others controlled	2	4.9	5	12.3

χ^2 is 4.42; significant at the .05 level.

Further accentuating the observations about the strong maternal role in the future users' families are reports of the mothers' moralistic and abstemious attitudes. Future users reported that their mothers tended to abstain from alcohol and tobacco use, a pattern not characteristic of fathers (see Tables 18 and 19).

The data on alcohol use seem striking. Only one mother of a future user was a cannabis smoker, and while the finding on lower

tobacco use is less significant statistically, the interpretation seems sound that the mothers of future users tended to be more abstemious than mothers of non-users. Thus, despite the maternal-role model of restraint and "proper" behavior, sons turned to cannabis use.

Table 19
Mother's Use of Alcohol

	Future Users (N=41)		Non-Users (N=41)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Mother drank	6	14.6	17	41.5
Mother did not drink	30	73.2	23	56.1
Not applicable/unknown	5	12.2	1	3.4

χ^2 is 5.99; significant at the .02 level.

Table 20
Mother's Use of Tobacco

	Future Users (N=41)		Non-Users (N=41)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Mother smoked	10	24.4	19	46.3
Mother did not smoke	28	68.3	20	48.8
Not applicable/unknown	3	7.3	2	4.9

χ^2 is 3.22; trend at the .07 level.

Within the family, fathers of the future users tended to defer to their spouses in important areas. Outside of the home, they showed less inclination to assume positions of community leadership than fathers of non-users.

Table 21
Leadership Roles of Father During Childhood
(e.g., clubs, church, politics)

	Future Users (N=41)		Non-Users (N=41)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Was a leader	5	12.2	11	26.8
Was not a leader	32	78.0	22	53.6
Not applicable/unknown	4	9.8	8	19.6

χ^2 is 2.85; trend at the .09 level.

Therefore, a pattern emerges of weak father figures, strong mother figures, and a less than adequate ability to satisfy basic subsistence needs.

Dynamics within the family of the subjects varied greatly, causing some of the subjects to complain about their parents' behavior toward them. The subjects who became cannabis users reported a significantly higher level of favoritism by the parents within the family. Although some found themselves to be the recipients of this preferential treatment, most found it to be directed toward their siblings, leading several of the future users to view themselves as the "black sheep" of the family (see Table 22).

Preferential treatment within the family of orientation is associated with sibling rivalry, as suggested by the users' inclination to perceive their brothers and sisters as being better off than they (Table 23).

A finding which summarizes the preceding observations about the future users' families is that such families tended to suffer downward socioeconomic mobility. Table 24 presents a comparison of the future users' and non-users' families with respect to mobility. The cannabis-using subjects tended to grow up in weakly constituted families beset

Table 22
Parental Preferential Treatment During Childhood

	Future Users (N=41)		Non-Users (N=41)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Absent	16	39.0	25	61.0
Present for siblings	14	34.2	5	12.2
Present for ego	7	17.1	6	14.6
Not applicable/unknown	4	9.7	5	12.2

χ^2 is 6.30; significant at the .02 level.

Table 23
Sibling Status

	Future Users (N=41)		Non-Users (N=41)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Better than ego	17	41.5	8	19.5
The same or worse than ego	22	53.6	31	75.6
Unknown	2	4.9	2	4.9

χ^2 is 4.76; significant at the .05 level.

Table 24
Socioeconomic Mobility During Childhood

	Future Users (N=41)		Non-Users (N=41)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Upward or status	26	63.4	34	82.9
Downward	13	31.7	7	17.1
Not applicable/unknown	2	4.9	--	--

χ^2 is 8.4; significant at the .01 level.

by economic and interpersonal trouble. Subjects coping with these domestic conditions found their options limited. Their choices were

canalized by their own personal resources, the social relationships they could cultivate, and their own capacity for endurance. If conditions were bad, what could they do? What were the thresholds of tolerance when it came time to leave?

Three conditions of family life seem to be strongly related to the decision to leave home. These conditions are inadequate food and housing, excessive punishment, and dissolution of the family before the subject reached the age of 12. These specific circumstances were referred to by the subjects as "breaking points," which left them no alternative but independence. Faced with two, or sometimes three, of the conditions simultaneously, their decision to abandon home became more certain.

Table 25

Key Abandonment Variables

Number Reporting	Condition	Number Abandoning	Number Not Abandoning
21 users	Inadequate food/housing	16	5
19 users	Excessive punishment	12	7
10 users	Dissolution of family before age 12	8	2
12 non-users	Inadequate food/housing	4	8
14 non-users	Excessive punishment	3	11
12 non-users	Dissolution of family before age 12	3	9

While 17 users endured two or three of these conditions, only 9 of the non-users did. For the most part, non-users faced either one or none of these circumstances.

Because of fewer family resources and more tenuous family relationships, users were more inclined to leave home than non-users. Some of those who abandoned home referred to particular punishments as the

last outrage. Others simply found that they ate better when hustling in the street. Their need to cope with the situation was generated out of a family situation pushing them toward independence.

After leaving home, these subjects found their options delimited by the social world which they confronted--the street culture of other youths like themselves who were adapting to working-class life as ingeniously as they were able. In some cases, children as young as six had to take care of themselves in the street. They shined shoes, stole food, begged, and worked as errand boys or package carriers to survive. They were street people in the extreme.

The Alternative of Street Culture

For some of the working-class youths, "making it" (jugandoselo) on the street was a viable and logical adaptive strategy. Running with a gang was a major source of social knowledge and formed a base for one's future friends, co-workers, and neighbors. Groups of adolescent boys would gather on street corners, sports fields, or in coffee groves playing or talking. The older members of such groups provided role models that were brash and cocky, typified by risqué overtures they would direct at all interesting women who passed. Recreation for these groups included soccer, visits to houses of prostitution (usually a first initiation into sex), and many hours "hablando paja," i.e., shooting the bull.

It was in these contexts that our subjects learned how to use alcohol, tobacco, or drugs. Drinking with peers and older friends and taking recreational treks to different parts of the city, to the port city of Puntarenas, to a country locale, or a coffee grove near the city, were and continue to be popular pastimes.

The contrast with the formal relational grouping of the family was striking. The street and the family formed two points on an axis--two extremes where different lessons and different behaviors were learned. The two poles of the axis offered different attractions: the routines of family or the adventurous interactions of peers. The peer groupings had a relational structure which included young men and boys from about ten years of age to the late teens. They were led by the older boys, who often furnished the example and instruction in how to smoke cannabis.

Young men who opted for primary interaction with street groups sometimes migrated to the banana zones of the country where they met others like themselves, who were similarly out seeking their fortune in the high-paying, hard-living world of growing and harvesting fruit. This was the street culture of San José transplanted to the industrialized agricultural zones, but a mobile street culture nevertheless.

Initiation into the non-family ethos of male counterparts consisted of participation in several shared diagnostic experiences. Typical activities were looking for sex together, working together on arduous jobs, drinking together, talking together in a special style, and smoking cannabis for the initiates to this habit. For the smokers these activities were engaged in either in gangs or with a friend or two. Thus, for many cannabis smokers, the drug first had an identity which combined work, recreation, and friendship. Association of the drug with these activities continues throughout the smoking career (see Tables 19 and 20).

In terms of relational structure, the groupings were defined on the basis of a shared experience such as reform school, a gang

formed of runaways, or collaboration in a youth occupation such as shining shoes. Siblings and neighborhood friends sometimes participated.

The onset of cannabis use may be associated with these peer groupings. Users reported that the mean age at which they first tried the drug was 14.2, with a range of 8 to 25. They began using cannabis regularly at the mean age of 14.2, with a range of 9 to 26. Twenty-eight subjects, or 68.2 percent, reported that they learned to smoke with a friend or in a gang of youths, and 33 subjects, or 80.4 percent, reported that they generally smoked cannabis with other acquaintances. Significantly, 29 subjects, or 72.5 percent, reported that an older youth was the individual who introduced them to the use of cannabis.

A shoeshine boy relates how he learned to smoke cannabis 20 years ago:

I had watched everyone else smoke for a year or more. I was curious about it, but never asked to try it. I thought I could do it though, since I had seen the drug smoked so much. Finally I asked Rudolfo to give me a cigarette. He was sort of the leader and he told me what to do. All of us smoked together on the corner or we'd go off to the edge of town together.

The use of cannabis designated these youths as delinquent for the general populace. Non-users in the sample used the pejorative slang term marihuano in the same way that it was found in the newspapers and in general parlance--to imply unsavory character, slovenly work habits, low morals, and risk to society. Interestingly, to be a marihuano one did not have to be a user of cannabis; he simply had to have the characteristics cited. What seemed rational adaptive strategy to the street gangs (i.e., thieving food and resalable articles,

hustling tips, shining shoes, and living wherever there was a roof) seemed deviant behavior to the rest of society.

The users indicated, however, that this impression of their behavior was not without basis in fact. As children, they engaged in more delinquent acts than their non-using counterparts.

Table 26
Delinquency

	Future Users (N=41)		Non-Users (N=41)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Did commit delinquent acts	18	43.9	7	17.1
Did not commit delinquent acts	21	51.2	33	80.5
Not applicable	2	4.9	1	2.4

χ^2 is 7.50; significant at the .01 level.

Society responded strongly to these transgressions of the users. They were caught and disciplined with efficiency and diligence.

Table 27
Experience in Reformatory

	Future Users (N=41)		Non-Users (N=41)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
At least one term served	15	36.6	0	0.0
Never in reformatory	26	63.4	41	100.0

χ^2 is 15.99; significant at the .001 level.

In few areas do the data break so cleanly between the users and non-users as in the reformatory experience. The sharply divergent

socialization paths already described are illuminated here. The users adopted a behavior mode out of necessity; society did not approve and exerted strong sanctions. Incarceration provided a reinforcing experience. The youths made more friends like themselves in the reformatory, and by widening their networks, they learned more about delinquency and serious crime. Several subjects reached the age of 18 in the reformatory and were transferred to the central penitentiary. They humorously pointed out that the transfer was a "graduation" to the "university" where they learned the fine points of auto theft, house-breaking, and swindling.

A further observation is that although 17.1 percent of the non-users engaged in delinquent acts, not one was sent to the reformatory. It seems reasonable to infer that the identification of the users as marihuanos served to cue the authorities to pursue these individuals, whether or not their actions had anything to do with the use of cannabis. This vulnerability vis à vis the authorities is termed by the users as "having color" (tener color). "Having color" meant that an individual might be picked up for questioning under any pretense and spend a night in jail for no reason whatsoever.

In adolescent employment, further differentiation between users and non-users is evident. Non-users tended to have full-time jobs (see Table 28).

Users did not seem to manifest the work ethic esteemed in Costa Rica. Rather, they were active with friends, juggled a schedule of part-time jobs, and spent some energy just trying to keep out of trouble. During adolescence, they tended to have fewer financial

obligations to their families of orientation than the non-users, as they were by and large independent. They found that meeting their own needs did not require full-time employment.

Table 28
Work During Adolescence

	Users (N=41)		Non-Users (N=41)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Full time	26	63.4	38	92.7
Part time or none	15	36.6	3	7.3

χ^2 is 10.25; significant at the .002 level.

Further divergence is found between users and non-users with respect to courtship. Users tended to have shorter periods of courting than non-users.

Table 29
Length of Courtship

	Users (N=41)		Non-Users (N=41)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Long	21	51.2	29	70.7
Short or brief acquaintance	9	22.0	2	4.9
Not applicable	11	26.8	10	24.4

χ^2 is 5.72; significant at the .02 level.

With regard to their first sexual experience, there was no difference between the two groups. Both groups had coitus in the mid-teens, usually with a prostitute. Yet, users began living with women,

usually prostitutes, at a younger age than non-users and had more of these relationships.

Thus, it is clear that there was a marked divergence in adolescence between the users and non-users. This is a trend which began in childhood, with a number of conditions rendering the future users' families generally less effective in adapting to economic and social demands than the non-users' families. For the majority of the future users, conditions pushed them to the point of leaving home altogether, thereby redefining their world of primary social contacts in terms of peer cohorts. The style and content of the interactions within these peer groups differed markedly from those of non-users, as seen in contrasting behavior, including cannabis use. Whereas the non-users worked, studied, and were attentive to family responsibility, the users were artfully earning a living, running with peers, smoking cannabis, and establishing themselves with women. The risk of their life style was that it led them afoul of authority and established a pattern of marginal participation in social institutions. This pattern is most explicit in the subjects' participation in schooling.

Reactions to the Classroom--Early Initiation into Formal Institutions

While education is seen in most countries as a mechanism of social mobility, this belief is especially embedded in the minds of Costa Ricans. This is evident in the fact that the public sector of education is highly developed in comparison to the general level of wealth in the country. Government leaders try to instill much national pride in this level of educational investment for the betterment of the citizens.

The effect of this conspicuous public expenditure is to put pressure upon the children to respond positively to the opportunity given them. One user who did not have the opportunity to go to school commented, "I'm one of the few illiterates Costa Rica has. I never attended a day of school." Although he was overestimating Costa Rica's literacy rate somewhat, his shame would have been less acute had he lived in a country with less overt public attention focused on formal education.

The level of performance in school therefore represents a degree of assimilation of normative values of Costa Rican society. No other formal institution intrudes upon the life of the child as much or involves as much external involvement in terms of parental expectation or future aspirations. Generations of Costa Rican parents have seen schooling as a primary tool for social mobility. Nearly all of the 35 percent of subjects describing plans for helping their own children reach high goals felt that education would be a major factor in enabling them to achieve high-paying jobs, professional status, and other dramatic leaps above their own economic levels.

Yet, in evaluating the school experiences of the subjects, further evidence is found for the clear divergence in socialization patterns for the future users and non-users. For the study sample, the subjects were matched on schooling so that the differences between users and non-users would appear within the context of a shared school experience.

Classroom experiences were organized around the development of a copybook and the memorization of its contents. Examinations

required attention and discipline to understand exactly what was being presented, a tedious task for many a budding adolescent. Users were less conforming to and less tolerant of this discipline than the non-users. The former tended to be absent more, to be more mischievous, and to be expelled more frequently than non-users. Self-reported attendance histories are summarized in Table 30. Children often absented

Table 30
School Attendance

	Users (N=41)		Non-Users (N=41)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Frequently absent	19	46.3	10	24.4
Occasionally absent	8	19.5	11	26.8
Never absent (except for usual illnesses)	9	22.0	18	43.9
Not applicable/ unknown	5	12.2	2	4.9

χ^2 is 6.1; significant at the .05 level.

themselves from school because of difficulties with teachers, suggested by their level of obstreperous behavior (see Table 31).

Even more significant was the experience of being expelled from school, a fate suffered by 5 of the non-users and 14 of the users (see Table 32). The expulsions were usually provoked by the commission of an act seen as outrageous by school administrators.

It is clear from Tables 31 and 32 that future cannabis users, as a group, found less satisfaction in school experiences than the non-users. The problems encountered in school may be seen as other

ramifications of problems faced at home, and escape from both was generally found through intensive interaction with like-minded peers. Among these peers, behavior took a different form as the youths engaged in what was perceived as antisocial and illegal behavior, of which cannabis use was a prime example.

Table 31

School Behavior

	Users (N=41)		Non-Users. (N=41)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Mischievous	23	56.1	15	36.6
Well behaved	13	31.7	25	61.0
Not applicable/unknown	5	12.2	1	2.4

χ^2 is 4.28; significant at the .04 level.

Table 32

Expulsion from School

	Users (N=41)		Non-Users (N=41)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Expelled	41	34.1	5	12.2
Not expelled	22	53.7	35	85.4
Not applicable	5	12.2	1	2.4

χ^2 is 7.04; significant at the .01 level.

Although some of the subjects seem to have had only marginal success in school, they now regret that they did not take advantage of the opportunities formal education offers. In this view, they express

the values implicit in Costa Rica's vast educational investment--that education is good, that it is available, and that it will provide important rewards to those who perform according to the institutional expectations. Although education is an important value in Costa Rican society, 42 subjects (51.2 percent), users and non-users combined, reported that they had to drop out of school because of economic constraints. They blamed this failure on themselves for exhibiting errant behavior as youths or on their families for not providing the opportunity or incentives to study; interestingly, they did not assign blame to the schools or the government.

Thus, they see their failure to realize mobility aspirations as their own fault. Their working-class lot, in their opinion, is the work of their own hands. Although education as a panacea seems highly overrated by the Costa Rican working class, it appears to provide a rationale for its members' present low socioeconomic status; they give reasons for not being better off in terms of their own supposed lack of discipline and/or resourcefulness. The educational experiences of these working-class males seem to validate the observations of Stone (1975) and Pyle (1974) about the elitist character of Costa Rican education.

Socialization--An Overview

A profile of working-class family life, revealed in the recollections of the 82 subjects, shows a common general pattern in the family of orientation. Generally, this was a family centered upon parents, siblings, and other relatives which formed a vibrant kindred with high

interaction among its members. It was an active social unit, tied into wide-ranging kin contacts and serving as home base to family members who elaborated their social worlds through associations with co-workers, school chums, neighborhood gangs, and the like. Generally, this structure and form was the same for both the future users' and the non-users' families.

However, certain of the subjects found their own family participation a trying experience, a tension they resolved in many cases by leaving home altogether. In general, factors most associated with such abandonment were hunger, abuse, and family instability.

Abandonment is a key phenomenon which helps to delineate two broad patterns of socialization experiences, one pattern incorporating cannabis use as part of its customary behavior and another marked by its absence. In the repertoire of behavior associated with the first pattern, cannabis use was but one of a number of related behaviors involving peer cohorts, e.g., "trouble-making," unsuccessful school experiences, tense relations in the family of orientation, early liaisons with women. Such behavior precipitated early entry into the adult social world of working-class males.

Adult male associations of these men have their roots in the interaction patterns of adolescence. As styles and content of social relationships initiated in adolescence are carried into adult life, one finds reform school alumni still fraternizing and shoeshine boys of adolescence still practicing the same trade on the same corner as adults. Thus, behavior patterns established in youth canalized choice within a range of social alternatives for adulthood. This is seen

more clearly in the next chapter where the dynamics of the subjects' adult social world are discussed.

CHAPTER IV

ADULT SOCIAL WORLD: FAMILY, WORK, AND PEERS

In this chapter, the relational dynamics of the subjects' adult social world are discussed, with emphasis given to their family, work, and informal relational groupings. The profiles of family of procreation and work will be described in terms of basically similar patterns for the majority of the users and non-users of cannabis. This similarity points out that cannabis use is an integral part of some of the men's life styles and is not dysfunctional or disruptive to social life, customary behavior, and values characteristic of San José's working class.

As in the case of socialization, there is a divergence of adult life style, notably among the users, some of whom have continued the adolescent pattern of street life into their early adulthood. The users do not present a uniform group, but may be divided into two distinct groups. The contrasting life styles of these men will become evident in the following discussion, particularly the analysis of informal relational groupings, tangential to the economic relational system. The differentiation of life styles among the users is elaborated in terms of a paradigm developed by Page in Chapter VIII of the Costa Rican report (Carter et al., 1976). For the discussion here, a general distinction within the group of users is made, separating those whose adult behavior parallels that of most non-users from those

whose behavior represents a continuing pattern of adolescent street life.

Associating with the men in these natural, ongoing social settings permitted observation as they interacted within existing relational systems. The range of these social relationships throughout the city was extensive, both in terms of geographical breadth and variety of social contacts. Following the webs of contacts led to 45 of the city's barrios representing each of the seven neighborhood types described in Chapter II. Yet, these networks did not lead into the middle-class world of professionals, government bureaucrats, or personnel of the educational establishment, thus revealing again the stratified nature of Costa Rican society.

Identifying and associating with the men's social networks was a functional way for us to uncover social patterns in an urban setting. Such an approach was particularly useful for interrelating behavior in different sections of the city. The style and content of these interactions remained those of the working class, generally representing the continuation of behavior patterns stemming from childhood and adolescent experiences.

Many research hours were spent at the scenes of work, in bars where the men passed time, and in treks about the city, as the men took care of financial and social affairs. Less time was spent doing research in the homes of the family of procreation, largely because the subjects themselves passed little time there, congregating instead with informal peer groupings.

Yet, the family of procreation is a primary relational system of many subjects who are married or living in free union. The dynamics

within this social unit may be described in terms of a general profile highlighting a basic similarity of life style for many users and non-users. This is elaborated in the following section.

Family of Procreation

In order to control for degree of financial obligation incurred with a family and level of commitment to domestic arrangements, the study's design controlled roughly for marital status between users and non-users. Thus, observations here are within the context of a shared marital experience.

For the subjects who stayed with their parental homes through adolescence, the time of marriage or beginning of a free union was usually also the time of break from the childhood home. The range of ages at which marriages or free unions took place for the subjects spanned from the mid-teens to the late twenties. At the time of the interviews, the average duration of these households was nearly the same, six years for the non-users and eight for the users.

As seen in the selection of spouses by our subjects, Costa Rica's working class is class endogamous, just as is the country's ruling elite (Stone, 1975). Seventy-five percent of the subjects are married or live in free union with women much like themselves. Approximately 66 percent of these spouses are of the same socioeconomic status as the subjects, while 21 percent are of lower status and 15 percent of higher. Similarly, one-third of the spouses have received the same level of education as their mates, a third lower and a third higher.

Further, a quarter of the women come from the same working-class barrio as their mates. They met and courted in areas and through

activities which are clearly working class in nature. Trade in neighborhood shops and cottage industries provided opportunities for young men and women to meet and establish relationships within the routine of their daily schedules. A basketmaker recounts how he sold a coffee-harvesting basket to his future wife; the encounter interested him, and he persuaded the girl to live with him after a courtship of two months.

Recreational activities characteristic of working-class youths provided other opportunities for introductions. Neighborhood fiestas, dances at local halls, and soccer games where youths sat on the rowdy sun (sol) side were places where courtship was often initiated and pursued. Once courtship was underway, outings were not elaborate, as pointed out by one shoemaker:

Julia and I went out every Friday. I showered and put on clean clothes. We would meet and go out to dinner, not at one of those expensive places, but somewhere where we could get meat and rice for about eight colones [one dollar]. Then we would go to a movie. After that, we used to go to a local cafe for some fruit juice and cake. That's how it usually went for a date.

The men would differentiate between women who are all right for an unencumbering affair and another type, pure and innocent, who would be a proper wife and mother. One of the subjects, an artisan, describes his courtship which led to his marriage with the words, "a very respectable neighborhood girl":

I knew my wife for about eight years. We were known as a couple forever it seems. Finally it got to the point that people were saying that I was taking advantage of her by not marrying her. Her parents were getting chilly with me and my parents were wondering if I was going to be a man about it. So we got married, and I'm glad about it.

The subjects' courtship generally led to free union, a relationship lasting for a few months, or, more frequently, an indefinite

period implying permanence. Many men living in free union answered "single" when asked about their marital status; actual living arrangements were ascertained after more discussion and observation. The men living in free union alleged that it afforded the flavor of independence and the advantage of avoiding "complications"; yet, in most cases free union approximated married life in form and responsibility.

As in the case of the families of orientation, the families of procreation of the men who are married or living in free union are deeply embedded in extended kindred which tends to amplify the importance of the family relational system for these men. Some of these men, who married women from barrios where they grew up themselves and where they continued to live, emphasize the importance of the extended kindred of their spouses as an additional resource base for coping with the economic constraints of their working-class life.

In terms of composition, the typical household of the family of procreation is restricted to the immediate nuclear family, with only a single other relative sometimes being present. Approximately 75 percent of the subjects lived in single family households, with an additional 10 percent having another relative present.

In some cases, there has been a need for the family unit to return to the household of the male's family of orientation. Unemployment due to a fluctuating labor market or to seasonal conditions precipitated financial crises requiring such moves. Having such alternatives available to meet basic needs suggests the importance of maintaining active kin ties.

Within the broad similarities of family of procreation, one observes patterns paralleling those characteristic of the family of

orientation. This is particularly evident in the quality of the men's relationship with the spouse and in the high degree of role segregation characterizing this relationship.

This role segregation is seen in the division of domestic labor and responsibilities and is highlighted in the men's perception of the proper distance between their adult world and that of their spouses. The men's primary zones of interaction and those of their spouses are discretely segregated, with the household being the only overlapping domain. The male world rarely impinges upon family circles. For example, the man does not bring his friends home; the spouse interacts with them only in passing. This working-class pattern is elaborated in the last section of this chapter focusing on male informal relational groupings.

With respect to household management, role segregation is especially evident. Except in cases where the spouse has a job or her own income, the man tends to control the household's financial affairs. Of necessity, the man must keep the other members of the family on a strict allowance, which he doles out on a daily or weekly basis.

The small amounts of money set aside for household management require that supplies be purchased in very small quantities, usually for the meal actually being prepared. Since these small purchases require several trips to the local store each day, children in the household are often called upon to run errands as needs arise.

This pattern of meeting financial needs on a daily basis reflects the limited cash flow, not just an authoritarian male presence. This

fianacial crunch generally necessitates interaction patterns casting the female in a subordinate role. While the man labors to provide the daily allowance, she is concerned with servicing the logistical needs of the family and caring for the children.

The economic pressures on the working-class male were vividly detailed by the subjects and became particularly evident when the men were unable to earn enough income to meet daily financial demands. One carpenter relates:

Every day I try to give her [the spouse] 25 colones [three dollars] to take care of things. Some days I don't have it, and she gets mad and says that I'm not a man. I can't take that so I just go out and get drunk. Then I miss another day of work, and things get worse.

The regular structuring of marital relationships around the theme of economic necessity continues a pattern of tension found in the families of orientation for many of the families.

Domestic relations in the working class are bounded by a number of external constraints. Residents of San José soon learn that water, either too much of it or too little, is a major preoccupation. Such a hardship is particularly felt by the middle class.

The rigors of household management in the working-class barrios are much exacerbated by such basic concerns as the availability of water. While running water is nearly ubiquitous (in 93.7 percent of the homes), often there is no pressure. Multiple connections on a single lead mean that a particular tap will draw all available water. Shouts of "Agua!" ("Water!") are often heard as a woman tries to get her neighbors to turn off their faucets. Thus, cleaning tasks are tedious and time consuming.

Often there are water shortages throughout the city for several weeks during the dry season (January through April). These shortages result in demands for utility repair teams, and working-class neighborhoods do not receive first priority. Frustration with this situation during the prolonged dry season of 1974 resulted in protests and pickets by working-class residents, who won some improvement in services.

Where the dry season is marked by shortages of water, the rainy season (May through December) presents the opposite problem of floods for the working-class neighborhoods on low terrain. During downpours, downtown drainage is inadequate, so stores and houses are flooded with up to a foot of water. Barrio Luján, a southern working-class residential neighborhood, suffers this flood/drought cycle practically every year.

These external conditions exacerbate the difficulties of household management, particularly for the working-class spouse who values tidy presentation of her residence, glistening wooden floors saturated with a thick paste wax, and a swept and moistened walk. Such values were learned in childhood and are being passed on to her own daughters.

In addition to the rigors entailed in maintaining a clean, tidy home, the spouse is also faced with planning adequate meals within the tight budget. Such preparations center on simple and economical recipes, with most meals planned around rice, beans, a soup, and a morsel of meat.

Meals in the home are simple affairs. They are prepared for the man of the house and left in the kitchen. Other members of the family help themselves when they are hungry. Customarily the man eats upon

arriving home from work. The meal is dished up unceremoniously, and conversation is kept to a minimum. As one informant describes it, one should not talk at meals "out of respect for the food." Mealtimes are not used as an occasion for elaborating familial interactive ritual, thereby illustrating the discrete role segregation characterizing the family of procreation's relational system.

Role segregation is further seen in the division of labor with regard to child care. Twenty-five (60.9 percent) of the non-users' spouses and 21 (51.2 percent) of the users' spouses have primary responsibility for offspring. There is some assistance on the part of the men. Twenty non-users (48.8 percent) and 12 users (29.3 percent) described their supportive role in the home. With few exceptions, children are seldom left alone.

In households where the spouse works, the children are usually cared for by members of the extended family during the working day; in other instances, neighbors look after the children. The situation calls for a marshaling of resources in ways unique to the working class; adaptive strategies are found to facilitate female employment so that the spouse can contribute to the family's coffer.

The additional income earned by the woman is often needed to supplement their mate's; this need is particularly acute today as Costa Rica's inflation rate rises dramatically. Her job is generally a low-paying position (e.g., factory worker, maid, market vendor).

One exception to this pattern of employment is the wife of a highly paid tractor driver. She is a full-time nurse, and their combined income is over 3,000 colones a month (approximately \$350), which

is above the income of most middle-class government functionaries. Yet, the couple perceives their status as lower working class largely because of their personal and family ties; the husband comments:

We earn more than teachers. But that's not it. It is how we live, who we are with. We're just working-class people. Maybe someday we can make the break, but not now.

Generally, however, the spouses of the subjects earn very little. For example, a factory job yields no more than 200 colones (\$23) a week. This income, however, bolsters the families' resources.

Whether or not she works, the spouse's primary responsibility rests with family. She is responsible for household management and the upbringing of the children. The latter is viewed as a primary responsibility entailing attendance to their basic material needs (food, clothing, shelter) as well as their spiritual and moral needs.

What constitutes "good behavior" is largely defined by the mother and instilled by her. Religious and ethical teaching is primarily her job and is one which she takes seriously. She teaches simple prayers, sends the children to catechism, and provides guidance on proper behavior. This dominant role of the mother in socialization in the subjects' families of procreation replicates a pattern already seen in their families of orientation.

Childrearing and home management are largely the domains of the spouse. Her mate's world focuses primarily on relations outside the home. He tends to spend time with male cohorts, locates work through them and others in his network of informal contacts, and elaborates his informal social relations while avoiding formal institutional involvement. In all these respects, he replicates patterns present in his family of orientation.

Particularly noteworthy is the lack of involvement in neighborhood organizations or political affairs. Only 12 percent of all the subjects have accepted leadership roles of any sort in formal institutions. Although non-users tended to be more involved in such institutions than users, neither group displays much interest in or enthusiasm for participation in formal institutions, thereby replicating a pattern of their fathers' generation of working-class men.

Nine non-users (21.9 percent) and one user (2.4 percent) have served as leaders in some capacity in their neighborhoods. This leadership appeared in activities ranging from the ubiquitous sports teams to local politics.

With regard to other involvement, 12 non-users (29.2 percent) and 6 users (14.6 percent) have worked for a political party and 15 non-users (36.5 percent) and 4 users (9.7 percent) attend church occasionally. These findings suggest that working-class men in general tend to eschew formal involvement in organizations and that users in our sample tend to be less involved than non-users. This pattern seems to reflect a general avoidance of commitment and authority, a tendency stemming from adolescence.

Another pattern consistent with the subjects' own childhood is that they and their spouses do not educate their offspring about sex. While a few subjects think that it is enlightened to give such instruction, few do so. They feel that only girls need sex explained to them, and, according to the subjects, this is the proper domain of the mother. The business of sexual initiation for their sons is, in the subjects' view, best left to their peers. Such was the case in their own socialization.

The role segregation between spouses which is evident in the assignment of child-rearing and general home management parallels the picture of conjugal roles and social networks presented by Bott (1955) in her London study. As in her study, the social worlds of the working-class subjects and their spouses connect only by virtue of the marital or free-union relationship. The daily routines of the male and female members of the households do not overlap.

The man leaves early in the morning to go to work and spends his day away from home. If he does return for lunch, his meal is served quickly and he hastens to return to his activities for the afternoon. He usually passes the evening with his friends. Generally these friends do not come to his home or interact with his family. It is a separate and discrete world of social interaction which does not include the spouse.

Within this structure, domestic relations are generally peaceful, replicating a pattern found in the general profile of the subjects' family of orientation. The subjects generally report that their relationships with their spouses are "tranquil," with occasional verbal arguments about liquor and money. As in an earlier generation, these arguments are generally inconclusive and not disruptive of normal family processes.

In most respects, users and non-users describe home lives paralleling the profile of working-class family of orientation presented in Chapter III. The family is generally small (on the average, both users and non-users have the same number of children living at home: $X=2.6$) and is characterized by a high degree of role segregation similar to that found in the typical family of orientation.

The woman's world in the family of procreation generally centers on the home and is limited to her children, her relatives (especially her mother), and a few friends and acquaintances. She does not share in her mate's world, nor he in hers. Her role is quite similar to that of his mother's: rearing children, managing the home, and working outside the home when necessary to supplement her mate's income.

Her mate's world includes a much wider range of social relationships than hers. Leaving her with the details of household management, he seeks and secures employment through his network of informal contacts, thereby fulfilling his role as breadwinner as well as elaborating his informal relational ties. His social world focuses largely on those informal relational groupings tangential to his world of work, as was the case with his father's generation. Users tend to prefer these associations more than non-users (at $p=.01$); however, this fact does not seem to affect the stability or tranquility of their homes.

Thus, cannabis use as a behavior of choice for some working-class men does not appear to modify working-class family processes. For the majority of users, the family of procreation parallels that of the non-users and is a stable social unit with interactional regularities and customary behavior characteristic of working-class families. The use of cannabis has been incorporated into the lives of working-class men who have continued to maintain what is defined in their social milieu as normal, productive behavior. Other aspects of this working-class ambience, the relational systems of work and informal groupings, are examined in the next two sections of this chapter; this discussion illustrates further the functional integration of cannabis into daily working-class routines.

The Men at Work

Particularly notable in the analysis of the subjects' work experiences is that the users may be differentiated into two broad categories, one group approximating the work histories of the non-users and another appearing to continue the street hustling behavior of adolescence. This lack of uniformity among the users is elaborated here as a general profile of work for most of the users and non-users and is contrasted with the behavior of users who are continuing the street culture of youth.

The subjects, in general, began working at an early age. The users, for the most part, began at 12 years of age, with a range of from 6 to 19 years of age; the non-users generally began at an average age of 12.3 years, with a range of 5 to 20 years. These early work experiences were often in conflict with continuation of formal education, and in many cases the subjects had to opt for job over school. Slightly over half of the subjects cited this conflict as their reason for dropping out of school.

The labor market is characterized by a fluctuating demand for workers in small shops, artisan manufacturing outlets, construction sites, and workers in the transportation services. Thus, job turnover is frequent. One difficulty in doing research with the men was keeping track of the many subjects who were prone to shift jobs quickly in response to the changing job market. This flexibility is possible because of the interchangeability and transferability of the skills needed to perform various jobs. Thus, a man who works as a shoemaker one week may perform a construction job the next. Others who are able

to buy a driver's license may be taxi drivers by night and transporters of vegetables by day. The kind of ingenuity needed to make a liveable wage requires a repertoire of generalizable skills as well as an alert sense of where the job possibilities exist and who are helpful contacts for securing jobs. Artisans, in particular, need a wide repertoire of skills.

In spite of this generally uncertain job market, a substantial number of the subjects have been able to obtain stable employment. Thirty-one non-users (75.9 percent) and 20 users (48.8 percent) show work histories with few job changes.

An examination of the subjects' work in terms of full or part-time employment reveals that 38 non-users (92.6 percent) and 24 users (58.6 percent) work full time while only 3 non-users (7.4 percent) and 17 users (41.5 percent) have part-time employment. These data produce a significant difference at $p = .001$ ($\chi^2=12.96$) between the users and non-users. However, further analysis by Page in Chapter VIII of the Costa Rican report (Carter et al., 1976) reveals that this difference is largely produced by a major difference among the users themselves. Thus, the difference between users and non-users with regard to employment is accounted for by the group of users who have continued adolescent patterns of hustling, street-culture behavior. They account for 12 of the users (29.2 percent) who work part time. The other users have developed life styles of family men and regular workers which parallel those of their non-smoking counterparts.

Unemployment figures illustrate further the differences among the users. A slight trend (at $p=.08$) toward a higher rate of

unemployment for users is fully accounted for by the street hustlers who constitute 11 (26.8 percent) of the 16 users (39 percent) suffering frequent periods of unemployment. Seven non-users (17.1 percent) have faced frequent periods of unemployment.

In like fashion, six (14.6 percent) of the eight users (19.5 percent) who have had prolonged periods of unemployment are those continuing adolescent street culture. Controlling for these individuals, the remaining stable workers who are cannabis users are indistinguishable from the non-using subjects in their unemployment records.

In terms of general socioeconomic indicators of upward mobility and economic success (indicated by career changes, promotions, raises, and perceived social status), there appears to be a difference between the users and non-users; for example, non-users tend to have a higher level of success than users, receiving more promotions and raises ($p=.005$). However, this difference, as in other instances cited above, is explained by variations among the users themselves. This is seen in the finding that persons who continue the adolescent hustling behavior as adults are significantly less likely to experience economic improvements than the stable workers described above ($p=.05$).

These data are cited to point out that non-users and both groups of users represent variants of working-class employment patterns. The users who are stable workers (23 or 56 percent of the users) constitute a majority of that categorical group.

Income figures for the subjects reveal no significant differences between the users and non-users (Table 33).

Similarly, there is little difference in terms of overall financial resources. For example, few in either group of users or non-users

Table 33
Subjects' Reported Monthly Wages

Wages (1 c = \$.12 U.S.)	Non-Users (N=41)		Users (N=41)	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
0-399c	2	4.9	1	2.4
400-599c	7	17.1	15	36.5
600-799c	9	22.0	8	19.5
800-999c	9	22.0	6	14.6
1000-1199c	7	17.1	7	17.0
1200-1599	6	14.6	1	2.4
1600 and above	1	2.4	1	2.4
N/A	0		2	

have a house or savings. However, non-users tend to possess more important material goods (e.g., car, major appliance, house furnishings) than users; 24 non-users (58.5 percent) and 12 users (29.3 percent) are owners of such items. Closely related to the ownership of these goods is the willingness to take on debt in order to finance them; in this regard, users to a significant degree ($p=.003$) are less willing to carry debt obligations than non-users, with only 19 users (46.3 percent) as opposed to 34 (82.9 percent) carrying such obligations.

The users' apparent unwillingness to participate in formal commercial financing arrangements contrasts with their elaboration of less orthodox economic pursuits. Users, more than non-users, continue to supplement their incomes with extra-legal incomes (e.g., resale of

stolen goods and vending marihuana). These pursuits are a shadow system to more orthodox economic pursuits which are the most common endeavors. In the former, informal peer groupings tangential to the subjects' economic relational system are the key. For example, intimate informal networks play a central role in fencing stolen goods where the merchandise changes hands several times before being placed on the market. Twenty-one (41.2 percent) of the users participate in this commerce, while none of the non-users claim to do so. The latter's claim, however, is suspect in view of the institutionalization of extra-legal activities as seen in the ubiquitous trafficking in contraband cane liquor and smuggled consumer goods and in the general commerce in stolen goods. It seems likely that participation in this shadow system is more generalized than commonly admitted.

Despite the users' common propensity for this kind of extra-legal activity, the subjects in the group of users differs markedly among themselves in terms of work profile, as indicated above. The majority of users, like most non-users, are stable workers with regular jobs and steady incomes who meet their obligations in a way befitting a well-assimilated work ethic. This profile contrasts with that of the users who have continued adolescent patterns of street culture into their young adulthood. The latter shift jobs often, are frequently unemployed for long periods of time, and have not realized any betterment of their economic status.

Though differing, both patterns are logical behavior options for working-class males. Cannabis use is associated with each pattern, which suggests that use of the drug is an integral part of

characteristic working-class patterns. The manner in which cannabis use has been incorporated into the customary behavior of the users' informal relational groups tangential to their world of work is discussed below; to provide grounds for comparison, a relational analysis of the non-users' informal groups is also presented.

Informal Relational System

The preceding discussion of the subjects' world of work suggested the lack of uniformity among the study's users, a theme to be elaborated in this section, which focuses on their informal relational system. This examination explores the dynamics of the men's informal associations in order to provide a more complete picture of the social world of working-class men and the functional, integral role of cannabis in this world for some individuals.

Special emphasis is given to the structure of interaction, customary behavior, and values associated with the informal groupings of the men. The discussion of these focuses first on key individuals who serve as points of reference for other individuals; the groupings are labeled with the names of these individuals. Such a point of departure provides a vehicle for introducing a discussion of the men's social processes.

The groupings discussed here were defined in two ways. First, the ties which led the researcher to the subjects initially were reconstructed. Secondly, field notes describing interaction patterns and information flow were used to delineate relational structure. The crucial lessons learned in trying to keep in touch with the subject population yielded patterns needed to define groupings.

The discussion begins with an examination of the non-users' informal relational system which focuses on two informal groupings which are markedly similar in structure of interaction, customary behavior, and values, and is followed by a discussion of the users' informal relational system which begins with a description of two informal groupings which, in broad outline, resemble the dynamics of the non-users' groupings. Following this description is an examination of three informal groupings of users which are characterized by interactional regularities and customary behavior reminiscent of adolescent street culture.

The relational analysis of the subjects' informal relational system provides further insight into the social world of working-class males, particularly the nature of recreational relational patterns. The functional, integral role of cannabis in this social world is underscored in the examination of the users' informal groups.

Informal Relational System Among Users: A Single Profile

The two groups described here are strikingly similar in their values, customary behavior, and relational structure. Men in both groups are generally family men who work earnestly to support their families. The first grouping is particularly close knit; the grouping is the men's primary zone of interaction and is characterized by kinship, recreational, and economic bonds. The second grouping is not as close knit, but demonstrates patterns paralleling the first.

Renardo's informal group

In his late thirties, Renardo is lean, muscular and agile, conditioning which is a result of playing soccer for his entire life. He

lives in a squatter settlement where he and his family share a ramshackle wooden house with his father, siblings, nieces, and nephews--over a dozen in all.

Men from the settlement referred us to Renardo and his father for information about the area and residents. They became our links to the settlement's informal relational system. Through continued contact with Renardo and his father, it became clear that they would collaborate with us and formalize our relationships with others in their primary informal relational group, from which several non-users were eventually recruited for the study.

Renardo and his father are prominent persons in the settlement, which accounts for their roles of leadership in the informal relational group. Renardo's prominence is largely due to his skill in soccer which has earned him the status position of captain of the neighborhood soccer team. His father's prominence stems from his active participation in neighborhood affairs; for example, he organized the citizen's committee which brought utilities to the settlement and created the impetus to build the small neighborhood chapel which doubles as a meeting hall. He continues to promote efforts to improve the settlement.

The central role of Renardo in his informal relational group is seen by the fact that men generally come to his house to talk and fraternize. This is fostered by the central location of his home, which is situated near the middle of the line-settlement configuration of the community.

An excerpt from the fieldworker's notes portrays a typical gathering at Renardo's house:

The large living and sleeping room of Renardo's house was filled with seven team members, five youngsters, several relatives who lived in the house, and the fieldworker. All were watching television (a dubbed "Mannix" episode). Quiet conversation among those present was constant. One told about an injury he had sustained at work. Three were discussing the record of Saprissa, a favorite soccer team. Renardo was talking about the team's next game the following Sunday. The men were sitting on the beds and on the two chairs. No food or drink was being consumed. Several were smoking tobacco cigarettes, offering the pack around as they did so. When the show was over, most left and returned to their own homes in the settlement. Several were joking about how good it would be to go down the way to a bar for a beer, but no one had money, so the plan was abandoned. By 9:30 all had left.

This was a typical mid-week gathering at Renardo's. The fieldworker observed similar gatherings on at least twenty occasions.

The settlement was established by squatters along a road which passes through a coffee grove. It is a line settlement with coffee groves behind and in front of the row of houses, providing a campestrial atmosphere for the area, a point of beauty appreciated by the residents. While their housing is noticeably more humble than is common in other working-class residential areas from which we drew subjects, the men from this settlement do not talk about their apparent lower standard of living. Rather, they see the living arrangement as a way of saving money on rent and remark that the creation of the settlement by squatting permitted relatives to locate near each other, a main family goal.

Extended-family ties figured prominently in the lives of the men as children and continue to be important in their adult lives. Elaborate patterns of interaction with extended kindred characterize their

adult social world. These patterns stem from past familial relations. Most of the men are from rural areas, having migrated to the city with their families as children. They arrived in the city without any resources and had no kinsmen with whom they could live. Faced with this situation, they established the squatter settlement where they continue to live today. When asked about the quality of life in the settlement, many men commented on the advantages of having been able to allot space in the settlement so that families could relocate together, with parents, siblings, and extended kinsmen being immediate neighbors. This was desirable when the settlement was established and is an arrangement still valued by the residents.

The bonds of solidarity and fraternity of Renardo's relational group are reinforced by close kinship ties among some of the members. These kinship bonds, coupled with common interests (e.g., community recreation, soccer, community organization) friendship, and work, foster group cohesion and intensity.

Relations within the group are quite intense and largely reciprocal. For example, when Renardo was injured recently, the members of his informal relational group provided considerable moral support as well as physical assistance to help him move about. Many visited him daily to keep him informed of current happenings.

While internally vibrant and solid, the group, however, has a limited range of effectiveness. For example, in projects led by Renardo (e.g., campaigns to raise money to buy uniforms for the soccer team), the group has been unsuccessful, largely because its members lack the resources and contacts outside the settlement for realizing the goals. Renardo's father did manage to obtain governmental support

for utilities, but in other projects, such as informal fund-raising drives, he has not been of much help in mobilizing resources. He is very persistent in dealing with formal institutions (e.g., government service agencies), but has difficulty in trying to organize informal coalitions, especially when support is needed from outside the settlement.

These men are hardworking laborers whose repertoire of skills is generally limited. They depend largely on construction work to make their living, which is precarious, given the fact that construction projects are often interrupted by rain. The eight-month rainy season is particularly hard on these men and their families

All of the men in Renardo's group are married or live in free union. Their family units are stable and generally characterized by working-class family patterns described at the beginning of this chapter. The following excerpt from the field notes describes the household of one member of Renardo's group, Carlos Luis, who is struggling with economic constraints facing most working-class heads of household:

Carlos Luis lives in the squatter settlement in a small wood hut with his free-union spouse and her two children by a previous marriage. She is planning a divorce from her former husband, but cannot afford the fees. Carlos says that if she completes the proceedings, they will get married. Carlos works in construction for a living, and is also busy completing details on the house. The walls are rustic boards, drafty in winter, though Carlos has made an attempt to insulate by pasting newspaper over the cracks. The tramped-earth floor is swept but uneven, while they have afforded to put a wood floor in the partitioned-off bedroom. The two describe themselves as in love, after nearly two years of free union. Carlos' spouse stays home with the children, but talks about working in her old factory job to have more money to improve the house. While Carlos seems content with the relationship, he is bothered

that he cannot take his spouse to his mother's, because she does not approve of the living arrangement. The two are saving their money and feel that in a few years they will be able to get her divorce and a better house.

In the meantime, Carlos and his family participate in the close community of the settlement, sharing in its activities and exchanges and maintaining close ties with family when possible.

The general work and family profiles of this group illustrate the working-class patterns described earlier in this chapter. The men are conscientious workers who strive to meet the financial needs of their families. In cases where they face the ravages of unemployment or illness, they generally receive support from members of the group and from their elaborate networks of extended kindred, the latter being a solid resource base for coping with the rigors of working-class life.

The men's family units are generally stable, tranquil, and characterized by a high degree of role segregation. The male's social world is discretely separate from that of the spouse; his primary zone of social interaction is his informal relational group characterized by kinship, recreational, and economic bonds. A similar relational profile is found in the following description of another group of non-users.

Moreno's informal group

Moreno, a hardworking free-lance merchant, was met early in the second year of the project. He occasionally visited a bar near his home in a working-class neighborhood where subjects were being recruited for the study. Of medium height and stocky build with a quick, deprecating wit, Moreno seemed an ideal contact to introduce fieldworkers to individuals in the neighborhood. His informal relational

grouping is tangential to his world of work and includes many non-users who eventually participated in the study.

Extended-family organization characteristic of the working class figures prominently in the life of these men. Kinsmen, particularly males in the extended kindred, are the primary focus of their social world. Thus, the relational group delineated here is a secondary zone of interaction for these men; although it is secondary, it is central in their social world for it is a major informal relational group tangential to their economic relational system.

In Moreno's case, the closeness of kinship ties is reinforced by residential propinquity. He and his family live in a house on his parents' property where six other siblings have also built small houses. The heart of the family compound is the original family home where his parents continue to live and where all the children were raised. Although his family is the focus of his social world, he nevertheless associates informally with many men through his business, and it is through this network that many non-users were recruited for the study.

These men are all young, steadily employed, and reside in the working-class neighborhood where Moreno lives and bases his business. Like Moreno who is married, with family obligations, most of these men are married and starting families. These men selected spouses like themselves in terms of socioeconomic background and education. Many of them married girls from the barrio where they were raised; the couples grew up, met, courted, married, and set up homes in this barrio near family and childhood friends. In structure and character, their families of procreation largely replicate patterns of the stable social units of their childhood families.

This replication is evident in the degree of role segregation present in the homes. For the most part, the spouses remain at home where they attend to the needs of children and manage household affairs. Some of them work to supplement the mate's income; in such cases, the woman views her working role as secondary to her role as wife and mother.

Meanwhile, their mates hold steady jobs to try to support the family. They work in factories or shops or on construction crews. Their incomes are low, but generally adequate. As noted above, the spouses of some of the men must work to bolster the family coffers to meet minimal needs, and in a few cases financial constraints have forced men and their families to live in parental homes. Yet, for the most part, the men are able to earn enough to provide for their families. Their diligent, steady work habits reveal internalization of the work ethic and replication of patterns of their fathers' generation of working-class men. Moreno typifies the resourceful working-class man. He is a hardworking free-lance merchant who drives a battered auto around the metropolitan area dealing in junk (e.g., used building supplies, bottles, newspapers) and anything else he feels he can resell at a profit. His pleasant personality, memory for names, accumulative instincts for social contacts, and skill in social circumstances make him an adept businessman and an effective social broker.

The values of Moreno and his cohorts in the group as reflected in their domestic and work relations are similar to those of two groups of users described below. As elaborated in the next section, the life style of these groups exemplifies the general working-class

patterns associated with the work and family profiles presented earlier in this chapter. Largely preoccupied with making a living to support their families, these men labor conscientiously and industriously, exploiting available resources and capitalizing on all opportunities. This basic similarity in life style among users and non-users supports the assertion that cannabis has been incorporated into working-class patterns as an integral, normal behavior option for some men in that class.

Informal Relational System Among Users: A Double Profile

As suggested in the section describing the subjects' world of work, the users of cannabis do not present a uniform profile. A divergence in life style is manifested in two general patterns, one paralleling the customary behavior of non-users described above and a second representing continued patterns of adolescent street culture. These different patterns are illustrated in the relational descriptions presented below. Two informal groups of users who generally display behavior and express values congruent with those of non-users are described first. This is followed by a contrasting relational profile of three groups of users characterized by social patterns reminiscent of adolescent street life.

Nacho's informal group

Nacho is a burly, handsome user in his late thirties. He typifies the cannabis user who has established stable work habits, as manifested in the successful operation of his vegetable shipping business. He recently purchased a small farm on the Atlantic coast for which he paid nearly \$4,000 in cash, a notable illustration of his economic success.

His house is the center for an elaborate transport business which ships vegetables to several markets throughout Costa Rica. This business includes his intimate friends as associates, all very heavy users of cannabis.

Nacho and his friends are good providers for their families and are serious about their futures. Their use of cannabis is one aspect of their daily interaction and is woven into social exchanges focusing on financial affairs. They were often observed smoking cannabis while discussing business opportunities, the feasibility of different ventures, and future plans.

A typical "meeting of the Board" was held in Nacho's house one Saturday afternoon and is described in the following excerpt from the observer's field notes:

Nacho and two of his associates were sitting in the living room of his small wooden house. The room was small so they occupied all available seats. Nacho's wife and Pepe's wife [Pepe is a business partner and close friend] were in the kitchen chatting and fixing coffee for the men. They have been friends for years. The three men were talking about repairs on their truck which were going to cost them more than expected. They were rolling large cannabis cigarettes at least four inches long and a quarter of an inch thick. These were extremely large for San José consumers. In an hour and a half they smoked four. They also snacked on fresh tortillas smeared with sour cream. The conversation shifted to a discussion of prices of cabbage and chayote, a popular squash, which they expected to earn in a northern city the following week. The meeting broke up when the men decided to go to San José to visit the mechanic who was fixing the truck. Later, they headed to a corner bar for a few beers.

Of the entire study population, these men were the most difficult to organize for the different medical and psychological examinations because of the demands of their shipping business. Each week they make two round trips to a northern province, runs which take up most of the

week. The remaining time is spent planning the next week's trips and resting for the trips. During the journeys the men smoke cannabis, saying that it helps them cope with the boredom of the drives.

All of these men are in their late thirties, are married, and have children. Some have been married for ten years, another indication of the group's stability. The men in this relational group are quite concerned about their children's success in school. They see formal education as helping their children continue the families' social and economic ascent which they have initiated through their skillful management of the shipping business. Pepe comments:

I never had a day of school. I've made it anyway, but I worked like an animal. My little girl is smart; they say that she is number one in her class. I'm going to send her to school for as long as she wants to go. I can afford it and that's what I'm going to do. She can get ahead that way.

Illustrating the general pattern of role segregation in working-class families, the wives of the men in Nacho's group remain at home caring for children and managing internal domestic affairs while the men labor in their business. The women's social world is largely confined to the home where they focus their attention on child-rearing and household management. Like many working-class mothers, they are concerned about their children's education, particularly instruction in proper, respectable behavior. Moreover, they share the mates' concern for the children's achievement in formal education and encourage such progress by ensuring that the children study.

The general order in the men's lives and their success in business demonstrate characteristics of stable workers who are adept in promoting themselves by taking advantage of opportunities. These

behaviors are accompanied by prodigious consumption of cannabis, illustrating the incorporation of the drug into ongoing, functional patterns of working-class life. A similar relational profile is reflected in the customary behavior associated with a second group of users described below.

Julio's informal group

Julio, a heavy daily smoker of cannabis, lives in one room of a house which he has converted into a small shoe factory. Four men work in the factory producing dozens of pairs of shoes daily. Through the efficient organization of the factory and assorted commercial activities conducted in the shop, Julio presents a picture of a successful businessman and a stable worker who includes cannabis use among his daily routines.

Besides supervising the shop, he grants loans, resells stolen goods, and sells cannabis. He, like all the members of his informal relational group, smokes cannabis regularly; its use is well embedded in his work and recreational routines.

Julio is not married, but leads a life of perpetual affairs. He has no lasting liaisons with women. In effect, he seems to have adapted the unstable shifting aspects of street culture to govern his domestic relations, while adopting the stable, more profitable patterns of regular workers and entrepreneurs in the area of business. In both domains, cannabis use is an important, integral behavior.

The following excerpt from field notes portrays a typical afternoon of business:

The three rooms of the shoe shop were filled with workers, two in the front putting together the soles and tops, and two

in the back two rooms cutting more leather parts. The four men were smoking cannabis as they worked.

Julio was in the side bedroom just waking up from a nap. Two visitors were waiting to see him. Julio offered them each a cannabis cigarette and lit one himself. The two men are carpenters off work because the daily rains had closed their construction site. They wanted to buy a roll of 25 cannabis cigarettes which Julio provided. The men sat down to smoke, inviting Julio to join them. After smoking two cigarettes while engaging in conversation, the men left. Julio then checked on the work of the shoemakers. Then he returned to his room.

In these interactions, Julio assumed a superordinate position, providing the services which were requested. Similarly, within the shop he is unquestionably the supervisor. Unwilling to participate in the actual labor of making shoes, he supervises the quality of those who do.

The nature of his activities shifts in the course of the day. During the working day, he remains in the shop, greeting visitors, smoking cannabis, selling small amounts of cannabis, and supervising the small factory. At night, the workers leave the shop, but Julio remains as visitors arrive to trade gossip or engage in commercial transactions. Some deal in stolen goods, others want loans, others simply want to hear the latest street news.

The users in Julio's informal group are generally full-time workers with steady incomes, quite unlike the popular image in Costa Rica of the cannabis user as anti-social delinquent. They are serious about their work and talk in the shop about coping with economic concerns with their fixed salaries. They also show more discretion in their smoking of cannabis than they did in their youth, preferring sheltered places such as Julio's shop where, police raids and round-ups are less of a risk.

The composition of an informal gathering at Julio's shop one afternoon demonstrates the kinds of persons who are in Julio's informal relational group; this is detailed in the following excerpt from field notes:

At 4:30 in the afternoon I visited the shop to find a scene of high activity and interaction. The following individuals were present and are described in terms of their age, role, and activity during my observation:

<u>Individual</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Role</u>	<u>Activity</u>
Alberto	35	shoemaker	Gluing shoe parts together. Quietly smoking cannabis. Was not participating in conversation. Had worked with Julio for a year.
Mario	28	shoemaker	Cutting leather parts. Was smoking cannabis at the time. Had just begun work in the factory upon the recommendation of Alberto. Was quietly working.
Alfonso	31	shoemaker	Was sewing shoe parts together. A shoemaker for years, he had worked with Julio for eight months. He knew Julio's visitors and was conversing with them and Julio as he worked.
Sebastian	39	shoemaker	A long-time shoemaker and smoker of cannabis for eighteen years. Sebastian was doing the final finish work on the shoes. He was smoking a cannabis cigarette while chatting with Alfonso, Julio, and the visitors.
Julio	38	owner/ entrepreneur	Conversing with the two visitors about the arrest of a mutual friend, also known to Alfonso. Was smoking a cannabis cigarette with the two visitors.
Manuel	35	plasterer/ visitor to the shop	Conversing with Julio, Alfonso, and another visitor. He had heard about a shipment of cannabis from Limon to a mutual friend. All speculated about its quality. Was smoking a cannabis cigarette.

<u>Individual</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Role</u>	<u>Activity</u>
Raul	44	carpenter/ visitor to the shop	Conversing with Julio, Alfonso, and Manuel. He contributed in- formation about a new construc- tion job available in the sub- urbs. It was to be a big house, and Raul knew the foreman. Manuel and Raul planned to ap- proach the foreman for work. Was smoking a cannabis cigarette.

This scenario was typical of group gatherings at Julio's shop in the sense that age cohorts were meeting for a recreational break in a work context (i.e., the factory) while exchanging news about friends and work. This sort of interchange occurs daily, as groups reconstitute to discuss news and smoke cannabis.

The shoe shop is a clearinghouse for street news, making it a key spot for group interaction. Through his activities and central location, Julio has cultivated a large and varied network. He had developed contacts throughout the city for procuring and selling cannabis, re-selling stolen goods, marketing shoes, extending credit, and gathering information. To facilitate these operations, Julio has cultivated relationships with law officers, government functionaries, and many businessmen, as well as close contacts with colleagues in the working class. Although his business ties extend into middle-class domains, his intimate informal ties are with members of the working class.

Julio is functioning as an effective entrepreneur in San José. He has been as successful as Nacho in developing a business, though he has done so independently whereas Nacho has relied on intimate associates. Having cultivated a wide range of contracts, Julio has manipulated them to his own advantage.

Both Nacho and Julio represent types of successful adaptation to San José working-class life, taking advantage of available opportunities while moderating their recreational smoking of cannabis so as to incur minimal risk of exposure to the law. By engaging actively in business, by adapting their cannabis-using so as not to expose them to the sanctions of society, and by appearing to be regular working-class entrepreneurs, they conform to the general profile of productivity presented by the informal groups of non-users. Contrasting profiles of social dynamics among users characterize three groups of users described below.

Lucho's informal group

Tall and lanky, in his early twenties, Lucho is a user of cannabis whose adult life style reflects a continuation of street life patterns learned in adolescence. This style represents a variant of adult working-class behavior in San José and incorporates cannabis use as an integral, functional behavioral pattern.

With respect to family of procreation, Lucho's household is characterized by many of the patterns of the general family-of-procreation profile described earlier in this chapter. He is married and has two girls, one a three-year-old and the other an infant. His spouse is responsible for the care of the girls and for the maintenance of their tiny wooden house in a working-class barrio. A high degree of role segregation is seen in the division of domestic labor and responsibility. The spouse is largely responsible for household management and child-rearing, while Lucho is concerned with meeting the household's financial needs through work outside the home.

A similar situation exists in the households of other members of Lucho's group who are married. Role segregation is evident in the division of family responsibilities and is underscored by the men's perception of the proper distance between their social world and that of their spouse. Their primary zone of interaction is their informal relational group of male peers. The men focus their attention on this group, spending most free time with its members, locating part-time work through them, and elaborating informal social ties with them while avoiding formal institutional involvement. Such dynamics create customary behaviors characterized by high flexibility and quick adaptability, functional behavior patterns learned in the street during adolescence.

The following excerpt from the fieldworker's notes describes a work day:

The fieldworker had arranged to meet Lucho at his house in the afternoon for an interview. Upon arriving, the researcher found Angelita, Lucho's wife, who reported that Lucho and his friend Bernardo were picking coffee beans in an abandoned coffee grove in a nearby barrio. The fieldworker was to meet him at a particular spot at 4:30. At the appointed time, Lucho and Bernardo were waiting with a 25-kilo sack of freshly picked coffee beans. They each were smoking a cannabis cigarette and relaxing. The sack was loaded into the fieldworker's jeep and the fieldworker was asked to deliver the sack to the wholesaler who would buy it. On the way, the two men smoked another cannabis cigarette.

The wholesaler informed the two men about another abandoned coffee grove near his house where they could pick beans. He told them he would buy all that they could gather. He joined them in smoking a cannabis cigarette and chatted about mutual friends.

The fieldworker later returned the men to Lucho's house where Angelita was waiting with supper. She had not left the house all day, having been preoccupied with domestic chores.

In the case of Lucho and other married men in his group, the spouse participates only marginally in the male social world.

Occasionally women join in the men's gatherings when the latter meet for social interchange at the home of one of the men.' At such times, the men drink, talk, and smoke cannabis or tobacco, and the host's spouse joins in. On such occasions, she may smoke a cigarette or two of cannabis with her guests, but does not consume as many as the men, who may smoke up to 25 cigarettes in a sitting.

Family does not figure prominently in the men's social world; in this respect they differ from the men in the groups of Nacho, Moreno, and Renardo who interact extensively with male members of the extended kindred. Within Lucho's group there are no kin ties as there are in the other groups. Recreational ties bind Lucho's group.

The camaraderie characterizing the informal gatherings of the men in his group is the primary relational bond. Just as there are no kin ties binding the members, so, too, is there an absence of major economic links which characterize the groups of Nacho, Moreno, Renardo, and Julio.

There is, however, a shared trade in the sale of cannabis, a shadow economic system supplementing their more orthodox economic pursuits. When an opportunity arises to buy a quarter pound of cannabis for resale, members of the group collaborate in the purchase and resale. By pooling capital to buy the drug and agreeing to share the profit of the resale, they purchase the drug and activate their networks for marketing it. Lucho is central in this series of transactions. He visits the group's members to collect the capital, and after gathering the funds, he purchases the cannabis. With the help of his cohorts, he rolls it into cigarettes and sells it to trusted acquaintances.

This kind of extra-legal business supplements income received from more orthodox employment. The involvement of the men in such a shadow system accounts in part for the difference noted earlier between the categorical group of users and non-users with respect to extra-legal activities.

The general work profile of the men in Lucho's group also contributes to the statistically significant difference between users and non-users ($p=.001$; $\chi^2=12.96$) with regard to part-time and full-time employment, the former showing a greater degree of part-time work than the non-users. Unlike the users in Julio's group and Nacho's group, who are regularly employed in full-time work, the men in Lucho's group have continued adolescent patterns of hustling street culture behavior. Lucho, for example, occasionally works part-time refinishing furniture in his front yard, picks coffee beans in season, sells cannabis on a small scale, and finds various odd jobs. Others in his group also find part-time work in diverse trades. One of these men reported working as a car reupholsterer for several weeks, followed by a couple of months in a body shop, followed by a time painting houses; at the time of the interview, he had joined the army of Costa Ricans picking coffee beans during the harvest season. Another man travels to regional fiestas selling souvenir hats and trinkets. Others work in construction, which is irregular employment, given the many work interruptions due to rain.

Moreover, the frequency and length of unemployment is greater among members of Lucho's group than among users in the groups of Nacho and Julio. The men in Lucho's group who depend on construction for their livelihood are often without work because of the tropical rains.

Others are often "between jobs" as they move from one part-time job to another. Further, two members of the group are chronically unemployed. In general, this work profile of the young men in the group reflects a continuation of street culture behavior learned in youth and accounts in part for the higher rate of unemployment ($p=.08$) in the categorical group of users than in the group of non-users.

Thus, the street-hustling behavior learned in adolescence to cope with the rigors of working-class life characterizes the adaptive strategy of the men as adults. Their work profile shows a higher degree of unemployment, less full-time employment, and fewer economic improvements (e.g., promotion, raises) than users in the groups of Nacho and Julio. The latter are conscientious, hardworking family men with regular employment, whose life style generally parallels that of the non-users in the groups of Moreno and Renardo. Yet, one notes that the men in Lucho's group are hardworking laborers when employed and are self-sufficient even though their employment is less regular and their economic aspirations are less ambitious than the users in Nacho's group and Julio's.

Lucho and the other members of his group are young and largely unconnected to formal institutions. Lacking extensive family networks and ties to official San José, they are of little help to one another in times of need. In effect, their life style offers them few options to control their future and few resources should they face crises. Their mutual aid consists of camaraderie and moral support. These relational bonds are strong, making the group the men's primary zone of social interaction.

A parallel pattern of social behavior is demonstrated by the men in the group described below. These young men, like the members of Lucho's group, have continued adolescent patterns of street culture into their early adulthood. They display a similar profile of work and peer relations, the latter being foremost in their daily routines; as in the case of Lucho's group, the informal relational group figures most prominently in the men's social world.

Roberto's informal group

Tall and lean, with an easy manner and unsuspicious nature, Roberto was the researcher's link to an informal relational group of users who have continued adolescent patterns of street culture into their early adulthood. Roberto is a leader in this group, a position stemming largely from his accessibility and affability.

Roberto was open to the researchers and cooperative in sharing what he knew about his neighborhood, a working-class residential area near the central city. Regular work is not his forte, and income is therefore sporadic. But, this is not a real problem as he still lives with his mother, though he is in his late twenties. Unmarried and unattached, he maintains his primary social contacts with friends.

He can be found in the morning sleeping at home and in the afternoon in his home, at the corner, or at some temporary job. Persons looking for him visit these places or leave a message with his mother or a friend on the corner. He is never far away, which makes him a central communication link for the relational group.

His social world focuses primarily on this group of young men (all are in their twenties) who all know each other and interact

regularly. Maintaining a secure social base in the barrio, they move about the city, quitting a job when they want, finding another when they need one, but spending most of their time relaxing with others in the group.

All are as yet unmarried and unencumbered with financial responsibilities and obligations. They all hold jobs from time to time, but none can be said to have a career. When asked about his work, one fellow commented:

Well then, I do work. You know, when there is work, I do it if I need to. Maybe construction. Other times I go out and cut cane. Then, when I get ahead, I may quit and relax for awhile and then look for another job. There's no need to stick with one job, so why bother?

All are unconnected to official San José. Thus, they are of little usefulness to each other in times of need. They are primarily confidants and providers of moral support for one another. Unmarried and unattached, they maintain their primary social contacts with other members of the group. Each man has other networks apart from this relational group, notably those associated with family and work, but these networks are secondary.

The principal content of the relationships within the primary relational grouping is recreation, times occurring when work schedules, weather, and circumstances permit. Those that gather for these moments may be as few as one or two and as many as seven or eight. A typical pattern is meeting at Roberto's house to discuss what to do. Such discussions stimulate preparations: a shave, a clean shirt, fresh socks, perhaps a splash of aftershave lotion if they seem to be headed to a dance or nearby regional fiesta. Less elaborate preparations are indicated if the trek is to be to a nearby coffee

grove to find a comfortable place to sit, talk, and smoke marihuana together. Often Roberto decides what the group will do, a decision usually accepted by all present. If the decision includes smoking marihuana, he organizes the collection of the puesta, or stake, which is used to purchase the drug. Likewise, he initiates the distribution of the drug later, often claiming a few more cigarettes than his cohorts. The directedness of this interaction is generally one-sided, with Roberto assuming an initiating stance.

For him and the others in the group, the relational bonds on the group constitute the major part of their social world. The men show little interest in expanding their involvement with others, particularly associations connected with formal institutions. This is evident in their avoidance of participation in political or church affairs. Regarding the former, their only political participation was as paid distributors of campaign literature for a political party which they later could not identify.

This lack of concern for politics reflects their general relaxed, passive life style. Recreation, rather than regular employment and family commitments, is their primary preoccupation as they continue adolescent patterns of street culture.

The following group of users presents a similar relational profile. Particularly notable is the cohesion and solidarity of the group, whose members are linked by kinship, recreational, and economic ties. These relational bonds are strong and render the group the primary zone of social interaction for its members.

Carlo's informal group

Carlo, a young man in his early twenties, was the first user contacted in the study, a fortuitous encounter since he was able to introduce the research team to dozens of individuals who provided data and further contacts. They, like Carlo, are shoeshine boys in a downtown park, whose work is characterized by standardized routines and regular hours.

All of these men learned to use the drug in the street at an early age after abandoning home. The individuals in this group have known each other for years, were alumni of the reformatory, and have smoked cannabis together since adolescence.

Home abandonment during childhood is a shared experience of the men in the group. Carlo, for example, left home at an early age because of the deterioration of the domestic situation due to his father's drinking. His best friend in the group left home because of excessive punishment at his father's hand. They met in the reformatory where they began a pattern of smoking cannabis together during recreation periods.

Macho, another friend of Carlo, describes experiences of youth shared by members of the group:

There were six of us. We were mostly nine or ten years old, I suppose. We all had run away from home and somehow ended up in Puntarenas. We stole food and hustled shoeshines. We slept on cardboard under buildings or in the part. We were smoking marihuana then. We'd hide in a park or in a grove of trees and smoke. A couple of the kids are working on the corner with me now. We're still hustling shines and smoking marihuana together.

The corner regularly worked by Carlo, Macho, and the eight other regulars is the center of most group activities. The men generally

have work histories of occupational stability. Some of the members of the group have worked on the same park corner for 25 years and have developed regular customers, standardized work patterns, and regular hours of work.

In addition to this orthodox economic pursuit, Carlo and his associates engage in shadow commerce of stolen goods and cannabis. In this respect, the group resembles Lucho's; however, their stable work routines and their practice of one occupation throughout their careers set them apart from the men in Lucho's group who depended on part-time work and were often unemployed.

There is a wide range of ages represented in Carlo's group, some of the men being in their early twenties and other in their late forties. One is married, two live in free union, and two, including Carlo, are single. The style of domestic relations is similar to that of Lucho and his group in that the households are generally stable and characterized by role segregation as seen in the division of domestic responsibilities, with the spouse responsible for internal household affairs and childrearing and the male responsible for meeting financial needs.

However, many of the women work. One spouse works part time as a maid; another works as a clerk. A third spouse who has four children cares for the offspring and home exclusively when her mate is able to earn enough to support the family; when he is not, she works as a prostitute.

The male's social world is generally separate from that of the spouse and centers on his informal relational group. The men in Carlo's

group enjoy the company of their cohorts, with whom they share occupational activities as well as recreational pleasures. Further, they share the risks of their occupation, one of them being police harassment stemming from the enforcement of vagrancy laws which have taken the form of rounding up shoeshine boys from all over the city despite the latters' stable work histories and regular work habits. These roundups mean imprisonment for the men until witnesses can certify that they are productively employed and not vagrants. The frequency of the roundups has increased recently due to a declaration of the Minister of Security claiming that shoeshine boys are a public menace and disgrace.

This experience and others shared by members of Carlo's group emphasize the multiple ties which link the men: work, friendship, recreation, economic assistance, and shared childhood experiences in the reformatory and street.

The content of the relational group's interaction is thus multi-stranded, and cannabis use plays an important role in many of these activities. During the work day, cigarettes are surreptitiously consumed in the park while the men are on the job. Usually an individual having several cannabis cigarettes shares them with his co-workers. Care is taken to cup the cigarette in the hand so that it is not visible, and the last traces of the cigarette are consumed so as not to leave any evidence. The consumption is more relaxed in coffee groves which surround the city where the men go after work to talk and pass the time; there, the drug is consumed openly in great quantity and is shared in a mode of reciprocity, characteristic of the men's interactions.

At other times two or more of the men meet in the room of one of the men to play cards and talk while smoking cannabis cigarettes. On other occasions, the men may visit downtown dance halls to drink, dance, and meet women. Many of the women present at such dances are long-time street friends of the men, with whom the men have smoked cannabis as part of a sexual liaison.

Just as recreational activities reflect relationships of equivalent reciprocity among the members of the group, so too are interactions at work of a reciprocal nature. For example, the shoeshine boys often collaborate to coax an unsuspecting client to play the game of chapas, a bottle-cap variant of the pea and shell game familiar to county-fair midways. One of the men shines the clients' shoes while the other engages the shiner in chapas and a betting tournament. The latter pretends to try to locate the wad of paper under one of the three bottle caps, which his cohort has skillfully moved about. They both try to engage the client, a ploy which is sometimes successful. In the event that he is enticed, he usually loses, and the winnings are split equally between the two shoeshine boys.

The reciprocal nature of interaction among members of Carlo's group is also seen in a ball game which they play several times every day. All who play the game stand in a circle and kick a small ball from one to another. The object is to keep the ball in the air. Players "lose" who are unable to return the kick or who kick it back so it is unplayable. Though there is no penalty for losing, errors are chastised verbally and good shots or saves praised by all.

Other interactions in the course of the day are equally casual and reciprocal. No regular leader or standardized hierarchy dominates the social exchanges. In this regard, the men are preserving patterns of adolescence while simultaneously establishing patterns of work stability. They represent a variant of the street-culture mode previously described for Lucho's group and Roberto's group. For men in all three groups, the informal peer associations constitute the major domain of their social world, with primary emphasis placed on moving in street culture where cannabis use has been incorporated as normal, integral behavior.

Adult Social World: An Overview

This chapter has focused on the subjects' adult social world, with special emphasis given to their family, economic, and informal relational systems. The discussion revealed similar relational patterns for most users and non-users, thereby demonstrating the incorporation of cannabis use into ongoing social processes characteristic of working-class males.

The use of cannabis is seen by some working-class men as a normal behavioral option which may be integrated into routine patterns of interaction. Its integration into normal social processes is particularly evident in the dynamics of the users' informal relational system. As noted in the description of Nacho's group, smoking cannabis is normal behavior often accompanying business discussions as well as recreational activities. For other groups, its use regularly accompanies other forms of recreation and relaxation (e.g., drinking, dancing, talking, outings in coffee groves).

For all the subjects, there is a basically similar profile for the relational system of family of procreation. This similarity suggests the integration of cannabis use into the users' social world without disrupting interaction patterns characteristic of working-class families.

A divergence of life style among users emerges with respect to their economic and informal relational systems. Many users (i.e., those in Nacho's group and in Julio's group) display behavior and express values resembling those of non-users. Like the non-users, these men are stable workers with regular jobs and steady incomes who meet their obligations in a way befitting a well-assimilated work ethic. Other users (i.e., those in Carlo's group, Roberto's group, and Lucho's group) display different behavior as they continue adolescent patterns of street culture in their adulthood; they too are self-sufficient, productive members of the working class, though they are not as assertive and economically successful as the users in Nacho's group and Julio's group.

Both patterns may be regarded as normal behavioral options for working-class men trying to cope with the rigors of working-class life. Cannabis use is associated with each pattern, suggesting that use of the drug is an integral part of working-class life since one pattern parallels the life style of non-users. It has been incorporated into the social world of working-class men who have continued to maintain what is defined in their social context as normal, productive behavior.

CHAPTER V

CANNABIS USE IN COSTA RICA: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Among working-class men in San José, cannabis use appears integrated into normal, ongoing working-class social processes. The foregoing analysis emphasizes the functional interrelatedness of customary behavior, structure of interaction and values associated with the men's economic, family, and informal relational systems and related the phenomenon of cannabis use to these social dynamics.

The examination of early life-history experiences reveals two distinct patterns of socialization among the subjects, one pattern generally associated with the future users and one generally associated with non-users. These data suggest that drug use or non-use is correlated with fundamental social processes antedating the onset of cannabis use. Constraints and limitations stemming from the field of early interpersonal relationships canalized choice for the subjects; the decision to use cannabis is related to the nature of such relationships for future users, particularly family dynamics associated with home abandonment and informal relational dynamics associated with peer groups in the street.

Generally the future users and non-users were similar with regard to structural patterns characterizing their families of orientation. The structure of the family showed no major differences. In general, the family centered upon parents, siblings, and other relatives which formed a vibrant kindred with high interaction among its members. It

was an active social unit, tied into elaborate kin networks and serving as home base to family members who expanded their social worlds through relations with co-workers, school chums, neighborhood groups, and the like. The household was characterized by a high degree of role segregation among the sexes, with the male responsible for making a living to support the family and his spouse responsible for managing the internal domestic affairs and caring for the children. In broad outline, this structure and form was the same for both the future users's and non-users' families of orientation.

Though this general structural pattern was common to the subjects' families, the context and process were different. Certain subjects, especially future users, found their family participation a difficult, trying experience, a tension they resolved in many cases by leaving home altogether. In general, factors most associated with such abandonment were inadequacy of food and residence, excessive punishment by the parents, and dissolution of the family.

Abandonment was a key phenomenon for delineating two broad patterns of socialization experiences, for it precipitated entry into street culture where future users were initiated into the use of the drug and encountered experiences unlike those of subjects who remained at home with their families of orientation. Generally, these experiences involved facing the adult problems of supporting oneself and meeting basic survival needs. In the repertoire of behavior associated with the street culture pattern, cannabis use was but one of a number of related behaviors involving peer cohorts, which for some included trouble-making, unsuccessful school experiences, and early liaisons with women.

Virtually all users of cannabis passed through this street culture phase during adolescence, and in some cases (for the men in the groups of Carlo, Lucho, and Roberto), users continued adolescent patterns of street culture into adulthood. While in the street, young men are introduced to cannabis use. Just as Becker (1963) pointed out, such use is learned by the individual and is a direct function of the individual's participation in a group using cannabis. Associating with peers who smoked cannabis, the youths who had abandoned home were instructed in its use in the street and continued its use as an integral, normal part of their life style.

The men who had continued adolescent patterns of street life into their adulthood (those in groups of Lucho, Carolo, and Roberts) displayed a life style unlike that of most users, whose customary behavior and values generally paralleled those of non-users. The lack of uniformity in relational profiles among the users was underscored in the discussion of their adult social world, particularly their economic and informal relational systems.

The majority of the users (like those in Nacho's group and Julio's group) had integrated cannabis use into social patterns of work and family resembling those of non-users. For the most part, they held full-time jobs with steady incomes and tended to show upward mobility and economic improvement. This was particularly true of the men in Nacho's group who had developed a prospering produce business. In this work profile, they paralleled the style of non-smokers (such as the men in Moreno's group).

The men who had continued adolescent patterns of street culture into adulthood were also self-sufficient, productive members of the

working class, but not as economically assertive as users in Nacho's group and Julio's group. The former relied more on part-time employment to support themselves and changed jobs more frequently. To supplement income from such orthodox economic pursuits, some (particularly men in Lucho's group and Carlo's group) engaged in a shadow economic system involving the sale of cannabis and stolen goods.

All of the subjects were nevertheless alike in that their primary zone of social interaction was their informal relational system. Often multiple ties linked the members of the group, rendering the group a cohesive, vibrant social unit. Carlo's group, for example, was characterized by strong economic, kin, and recreational ties, as was Nacho's group of intimate business associates.

For men who were married or living in free union, their social world was discretely separate from that of their mates. Women were largely confined to the home, whereas their spouses focused on informal relational ties with cohorts outside the home and generally tangential to their world of work.

Though the men were similar with regard to emphasis placed on association with informal relational groups, their interactional regularities within the groups differed. The users who continued street patterns in their adult social world (those in the groups of Carlo, Lucho, and Roberto) were largely unconnected and unencumbered with familial and occupational obligations, and were thus permitted greater mobility and freedom than found in the activities of the groups of non-users and other users (those in Nacho's group and Julio's group).

For all the users, smoking cannabis was a regular, integral part of daily routines, accompanying work and recreation; yet, the

men in Nacho's group and Julio's group were more discreet in their smoking than the other users as seen in the formers' selection of private, sheltered smoking environments (e.g., homes, shops, factories). The men in Carlo's group were less cautious and discreet as they shared cannabis cigarettes during working hours in a downtown park, not having access to protected settings.

The two patterns of the study's users are thus quite different, yet both may be regarded as normal behavioral options for working-class life in San José. Cannabis use has been incorporated into both modes, which demonstrates its integration into normal, ongoing social processes characteristic of working-class life.

The examination of cannabis' role in working-class life not only shows its incorporation into regular working-class routines, but also reveals much about Costa Rican society, affording an opportunity to view the society's social structure from the perspective of those occupying a low social position in that society. The portrayal of working-class life emerging from this examination, highlights the subordinate position of the working class in Costa Rican society and the highly stratified nature of that society.

In the early stages of the research, it became evident that the social world of the study's subjects was restricted to the working-class stratum of Costa Rican society. Tracing working-class networks throughout the city to recruit subjects revealed the extensive nature of the men's networks within the working class and also disclosed their lack of ties with the middle class. The men had contacts throughout the metropolitan area with others in their class, covering 45 of the

city's barrios, but had virtually no important contacts in the middle class. Their informal relational ties were with male cohorts of the working class, their colleagues in the world of work were working-class men, and their kinship ties were restricted to that social stratum.

The options available to the men were limited by social and economic processes operating in their social milieu. The fact that both users and non-users were forced to work at an early age (average age being 12 for both groups), causing most of them to quit school, underscores a basic limitation in preparation for employment which restricted their alternatives. Limited in education and training, most of the men had few options: take low-paying full-time jobs, patch together a series of part-time jobs, or rely on seasonal work such as construction or coffee harvesting. Only a few, such as Julio, Nacho, and the latter's associates, had found more profitable work.

Such employment does yield an income which meets the basic needs of the men and permits them to be self-sufficient. In the cases of men who were married or living in free union, the men were generally able to provide for their families of procreation; however, occasionally the spouse had to work to supplement the family coffers. Furthermore, among users particularly, the income from orthodox pursuits was sometimes supplemented by a shadow economic system (e.g., selling cannabis, reselling stolen goods).

Economic hardships of working-class families were particularly evident in the families of orientation of many future users. In several instances, the youths left home because of inadequate food and/or shelter. In such families, the financial constraints were extreme,

creating severe familial tension. Similar, though less severe, economic pressures impinged on most working-class families. In some cases families had to double up in living quarters; in others children had to reside with grandparents or other members of the extended kindred because of limited funds in the nuclear family.

The men in this study had devised various adaptive strategies to cope with such rigors. Some, such as Julio and Nucho, had succeeded in establishing profitable businesses. Others, such as the men in Roberto's group and Lucho's group, had opted for a less routine, less profitable mode of adapting.

In general, users and non-users alike were self-sufficient, productive men who had developed functional, adaptive strategies for coping with the vicissitudes of working-class life. For some, the repertoire of working-class adaptive strategies included cannabis use as an integral part.

The study's examination of San José working-class life and the incorporation of cannabis use into the life of some of its members highlights the importance of viewing the role of such substances in the context of ongoing social processes. An in situ study of this nature is necessary to place drug use in its sociocultural context in order to define its role and meaning. As pointed out by Erich Goode (1972, pp. 47-48), laboratory studies are flawed because they do not examine real life situations, and survey research using questionnaires alone are flawed because they do not control for the variability of marihuana use in quantity, quality, and situation. Only in vivo studies provide insight into the total context and meaning of drug use.

Cannabis use in Costa Rica may be viewed as a normal aspect of life, both during the socialization process and in adulthood. The socialization experiences reveal that cannabis use is correlated with street culture, an option for working-class youth and the milieu where the future users learned to smoke the drug.

The patterns revealed in the study make clear the social roots of the onset of use and the social correlates of its continued incorporation into working-class adult patterns. The social nature of the drug makes it possible to use the description of drug use as a vehicle for describing general social processes.

In this social aspect of drug use, cannabis is defined by Erich Goode (1969, p. 54) as a particular example of the "sociogenic drug," a type of substance which consists of seven attributes: (1) the drug is typically used in a group; (2) the other persons with whom one shares the drug experience are usually intimates, intimates of intimates, or potential intimates, rather than "strangers" (3) the relations that the user has with others in the group are generally long-term, continuing social relations; (4) the group shares many of the same values; (5) a value convergence will occur as a result of progressive group involvement; (6) in turn, the drug-oriented activity of the group continually reaffirms its solidarity; (7) participants view the activity as a legitimate basis for identity--they define themselves, as well as others, partly on the basis of whether they have participated in the activity or not.

The importance of such relational analysis for understanding drug use is similarly highlighted in the Costa Rican study. This study, however, differs from Goode's in that he did his research among youthful

drug users in New York at a time when such behavior was part of a larger pattern of rebellion against conventional society whereas the Costa Rican study focused on cannabis use among conventional working-class men. Goode's criteria emphasize the solidarity and cohesiveness of the drug-using groups, an aspect of communal values shared by the smokers. Among the smokers in San José, smoking in a group was a common though not exclusive feature of drug use. The groupings in San José were aggregations which demonstrated flexibility in personnel and did not perceive cannabis use as a ritual of solidarity or communion as did the subjects in Goode's study. Further, the former did not employ group use of a forbidden drug to recruit and socialize neophytes into particular social attitudes or political beliefs as did Goode's subjects. Cannabis smoking was a viable behavioral option for the San José men, an accepted part of their world, not a means of sealing identity into a subgrouping of the society centered upon ideological concerns, as was the case with Goode's users.

The pattern of cannabis use in San José is paralleled by the use of another drug, alcohol, which is consumed extensively by working-class males. Usually consumed in informal groupings, alcohol use provides the opportunity for interaction with others and for what is often perceived as personal escape.

The ubiquitous presence of bars in the working-class barrios typifies the normal presence of alcohol in the socialization ambience of the men and in their adult social environment. Their drug environment includes alcohol, cannabis, and tobacco. While alcohol and tobacco are sold under control of government regulations, the sale of contraband

cane liquor, or chirite, is a common industry, in spite of vigorous government attempts to regulate its sale and use.

Problems related to the use of alcohol permeated the life-history interviews of the subjects, with many references made to fights, marital troubles, lost jobs, and general family decline as a result of alcoholism. As children, many of the subjects were confronted with domestic tensions stemming from paternal alcoholism; in some cases, the youths left home to escape unpleasant home environments.

During childhood, the subjects perceived adult use of alcohol as part of normal routines. This observation, coupled with the fact that their peers often drank in adolescence, led them to regard heavy alcohol use, as well as cannabis and tobacco use, as a normal behavioral option in working-class life.

Implications for Further Research

This in vivo study of drug use among working-class males revealed the functional, integral role of cannabis in normal, ongoing social processes of the working-class social stratum. An initial screening of the data on the basis of alcohol use suggests the possibility that alcohol use is correlated with anti-social behaviors and situations viewed by the subjects as "problems." Such a hypothesis needs to be refined and tested by use of a research design similar to the one used for the study of cannabis use.

Additional research in these areas would provide a more complete picture of the role of intoxicants in social life, an essential perspective if legal and social questions of drug policy are to be approached from an informed point of view. It has been argued here

that the question of drug use cannot be treated apart from the context of its use; it becomes, therefore, imperative for the applied social scientists concerned with these issues to present a broader view of drug use.

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

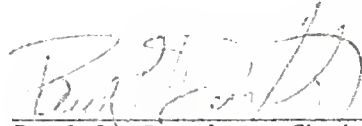
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As a participant in the Costa Rican cannabis study conducted by the University of Florida under N.I.D.A. Contract No. N01-MH3-0233[ND], he served as field-office director and field-research coordinator as well as an anthropological investigator. He is presently employed as an instructor at the University of Miami Medical School.

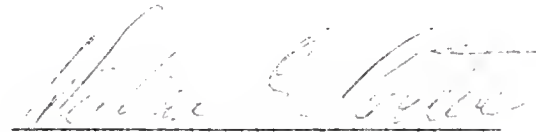
He is married to Joan Hardy True, who received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy with a major in education from the University of Florida.

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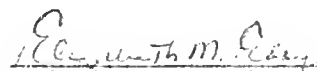
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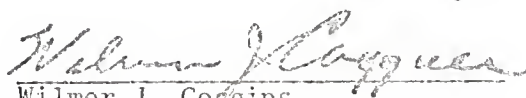
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